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THE TRUE INTEREST
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N
CONSIDERED.



T H E
TRUE INTEREST OF GREAT BRITAIN CONSIDERED: OR

A
P R O P O S A L

FOR ESTABLISHING THE
NORTHERN BRITISH FISHERIES,

IN WHICH

The circumstances that have hitherto frustrated every attempt to establish these Fisheries are investigated, and measures suggested by which these obstructions may be removed, and a spirit of industry universally disseminated among all the inhabitants of even the most remote Provinces and Isles.

B Y
JAMES ANDERSON, LL.D. FRS. FSA. Scot.

Author of

The Interest of Great Britain with regard to her American Colonies considered:
Observations on the Means of exciting a Spirit of National Industry, &c. &c. &c.

Testudo intra tegumen tuta est.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR
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THE INSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN

REPORT OF THE

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NORTHWESTERN DISTRICT



The Institution of Great Britain was founded in 1824 by an Act of Parliament, and has since that time been engaged in the promotion of the interests of the Institution of Great Britain.

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Advertisement.

THE following Tract was written towards the close of the year 1782, and was soon after sent to London with an intention to be published directly: but by some accident it was not put to the press before the preliminaries for the peace were signed; and as it was judged that during the confusion that took place among the Ministry after that period few would find leisure to attend to a subject of the nature here treated, it was thought proper to delay the publication of it till a more convenient season.

In the mean time, the Author, willing to avail himself of every circumstance that can tend to render his work as extensively useful as possible, resolved to take advantage of that delay by calling in the aid of his friends to help him to correct its faults, and to supply its deficiencies. With that view a few copies of it are printed, not for the sake of publication, but merely to be distributed among the particular friends of the Author, and others of whom he has so good an opinion as to wish to avail himself of their superior knowledge, if they shall be kind enough to favour him with such observations as occur to them on perusing it.

Had it been offered to the Public at large, it would have been necessary to caution the Reader against forming too sanguine expectations of this work. In disquisitions of the kind here attempted, many circumstances, that on the first glance will appear to be of very trivial concern, will be found, when thoroughly investigated, to be the efficient causes of very great and important effects. These must be traced with a painful attention through a multiplicity of minute details which can hardly fail to disgust those who read for amusement only, and must sometimes be illustrated by circumstances seemingly so excentric as to appear digressive to such as have habituated themselves to a close train of mathematical reasoning. These particulars would effectually debar any Author who had a view only to give an advantageous idea of his own talents to the Public, from undertaking the task here attempted; but, as utility is the sole aim of this little Tract, its Author will be contented if he shall find that his best friends are satisfied with the rectitude of the principles here inculcated; and will with gratitude avail himself of every hint that shall have a tendency to make it less exceptionable either in regard to matter or to form.

It is only necessary to add, that as this Tract may be considered as a Continuation of the reasoning in the pamphlet intitled "The interest of Great Britain with regard to her American Colonies considered," those will best perceive the force of the reasoning who have first read that pamphlet.

September 1783.

Cor-

Corrections and Errata.

Page 3. After the first paragraph, by the omission of a passage, the transition is rendered abrupt; but as the meaning in other respects is not essentially injured, it is here omitted.

P. 9. par. 2. L. 2. For work, it---*read* work. It

P. 12. L. 11. from the bottom, *dele* and that.

P. 14. L. 10. After the word *of*, *add*, their labourers to the lowest possible degree, till others observing the great profits they reap will gradually strike into that business and become their rivals, when the balance will turn in favour of the labourers.

P. 43. L. 9. For L. 4400 *read* L. 4000.

P. 49. The * should be moved to line 12. from the bottom, after the word supported.

P. 52. L. 14. For kind, or---*read* kind; or

P. 53. L. 10. For consequence *read* consequences.

P. 55. note, L. 13. For topping of---*read* lopping off.

Ibid. note, L. 3. *dele* what follows after the word importance, and substitute in its stead what follows in the penult line after the word alienated.

P. 87. L. 13. from the bottom, for retainable *read* attainable.

P. S. *It was not judged necessary on the present occasion to publish the appendix referred to, page 27.*

Introduction.

THE knowledge of man, in regard to future events, is at best extremely limited; but when his understanding is influenced by passion, or swayed by interest, he does not advert to consequences that might otherwise have been plainly foreseen. It is because of this that we so frequently see man, as an individual, adopt a plan of life, which he thinks is calculated to promote, in the highest degree, his future happiness and welfare, though others perceive difficulties and dangers that he must soon encounter. Despising the private admonitions that possibly may be offered to him, he pushes on for a time with the keenest ardour and alacrity. Hope still smooths the difficulties he encounters; and he grasps, in imagination, the promised pleasure that awaits him. New difficulties arise, and multiply, till he is at last overwhelmed in irrecoverable ruin. He is then obliged, with a heavy heart, to give up his favourite employment; and, destitute of every thing save his natural endowments, he enters upon business a-new, with no other hope, but that of procuring for himself a scanty subsistence: Yet perhaps it is not long before he discovers, that he is now in the high road to wealth and independence; and he rejoices to find, that he has been thus driven, in spite of himself, to adopt that plan of conduct, which could alone promote his most essential interest.

Nations, in like manner, are frequently seen to pursue, with the most inordinate avidity, some favourite plan of conduct, that seems, in the imagination of the people, calculated to exalt them to the highest pinnacle of wealth, of glory, and of power. In these cases, vain are the admonitions of those who attempt to show they may chance to be mistaken. The cautions they suggest, are despised as foolish dreams; and the

the national ardour continues unabated, till, by some great reverse of fortune, the people are compelled, in spite of their most strenuous efforts, unwillingly to relinquish forever their darling project, and to content themselves with some other plan of conduct, that the present necessity of their affairs obliges them to adopt. Thus, with a melancholy dejection of mind, they set themselves seriously to regulate their *affairs upon a new plan*; in the prosecution of which, they at length discover, that they are exalted to that pre-eminence in wealth, and in power, which they never could have attained, had they been permitted to follow that plan which they were forced, with so much reluctance, to abandon.

It was thus that Britain, about four hundred years ago, aspired to the glory of becoming the conquerors of France. Many battles were fought, much blood was spilt, and great sums of money were expended, in the prosecution of that wild undertaking; on the completion of which, it would seem, the bulk of the people believed the future exaltation of this kingdom entirely depended. At length, under the fortunate banner of a spirited Prince, the arms of England did so far prevail, as that our youthful Monarch obtained possession of the capital of France; and a considerable part of that kingdom was forced to own him for its Sovereign. But, in the midst of his vain-glorious career, whilst dreaming only of future conquests and additional glory, death put a stop to all his projects of ambition. His infant son was left the heir alike to all his hopes and conquests: but, instead of that glory which beamed around him at his birth, one continued series of the most unexampled calamities attended him from the cradle to the grave. All the conquests of his father, and with them the whole of the hereditary dominions his ancestors enjoyed in France, (three small islands only excepted) were quickly ravished from him. The glory, the invincible glory of the nation, as it was vainly called, was tarnished; and the proud barons of England, instead of meditating foreign conquests, were scarcely able to defend their own domains. Such were the calamitous events of that disastrous reign: yet, in spite of these accumulated misfortunes, it is now universally allowed, that the foundation of all the future prosperity of Britain was laid in the unfortunate reign of Henry the Sixth; for it was these misfortunes alone that compelled the nation to relinquish forever the vain idea of conquering France: an event, which, if ever it could have taken place, must have made Britain become only a dependent province of that mightier kingdom.

We thus perceive, that those transactions, which, to the bulk of the people, seemed best calculated to augment the wealth, and exalt the power of the nation to the highest degree, had no other tendency than to pave the way to its future debasement; while other events, which, to

a warlike people, appeared the most humiliating and unfortunate that could be conceived, proved at length to be the most fortunate incidents that could have befallen them. In the opinion of the vulgar, conquests always appear glorious; and extent of dominions, is, with them, the only criterion by which they can judge of the prosperity of a nation. The philosopher, on the contrary, knows that war is at all times pernicious to a trading kingdom, and that extended dominion must ever prove ruinous to a commercial people. He therefore views, without regret, the loss of conquests; and sees, without emotion, the most extensive foreign dominions abandoned. He considers these losses as the only effectual means of preserving the vigour of the original state itself in future times, and of continuing to it that internal prosperity, on which alone its existence, as an independent kingdom, must ultimately depend.

All the writers who have examined into the state of the fishing that might be carried on upon the coasts, and among the islands of Great Britain, have found it to be an object of such vast magnitude, as to fill the astonished mind with wonder, and to render the computations of its value almost incredible. Sir William Monson, Sir Walter Raleigh, Gerárd Malines, Emanuel Van Meteren, John De Witt, and others, have clearly shewed, that immense treasures are annually drawn from that source by the Dutch; and that there is good foundation for their having dignified it with the name of *the gold mine of that republic*. Great, no doubt, is the wealth they thus accumulate, and numerous the people are who depend on this employment for support; but, great as these in truth must be allowed to be, they will sink in our estimation as insignificant, if compared with those still greater benefits that Britain might draw from that exhaustless store-house, which Nature has opened at her door, with a view, as it would seem, chiefly for her emolument.

The amount of the demand for any article of necessary consumpt, will always be proportioned to the cheapness at which that article can be afforded in the market. But the natural advantages that Britain possesses above Holland, with regard to these fisheries, are such as would put it in her power so much to lower the price of that commodity in every market, as to augment the consumpt perhaps beyond any assignable degree. The shoals of fish that annually swarm in those seas, are so immense, as not to admit of being sensibly diminished by any efforts of man; the quantity caught, therefore, will be bounded only by the number of hands employed in that great business. But, since there is neither danger of diminishing the number of fish, nor of overstocking the market, the number of hands may be augmented to any proportion, and the value of the fishing be thus increased to any conceivable degree.

By this mode of reasoning, we are led to perceive, that Britain is under no necessity of sending her industrious people to foreign realms, in quest of employment; for she here possesses a boundless territory (if the phrase will be admitted) which never can be overstocked with inhabitants, but which, if properly improved, must give rise to an extended trade, and to numerous manufactures, that never could have been otherwise established in this island. She would thus become powerful, without provoking the resentment of foreign nations: she would become commercial, without being obliged to go to war for the sake of trade: she would become industrious, without compulsory laws, or expensive arrangements; and her wealth would be augmented, without her feeling so strongly as she now does, that luxurious extravagance which springs from monopolies in trade, from lucrative contracts, from jobs, and from those numerous collusions which the operations of war engender in such abundance. The public revenue would also be augmented to an astonishing degree, while the weight of our taxes would scarcely be felt by any individual.

The great benefits that Britain might have derived from a conduct influenced by these principles, have been long ago perceived and pointed out. *Puffendorf*, a sensible foreigner, remarked, when speaking of Charles the First, that 'under this King's reign, colonies were established in *Virginia*, *Bermudas*, and *Ireland*; by which means, the *English* have extended their dominions. But there are some who believe that this hath weakened the English at home; and that, in all probability, it would have been much more profitable for England; to have employed those people in manufactures, and *fishing of herrings, which produce such vast riches to the Dutch in the very sight of the English.*' The justness of this remark was not perceived by this nation when it was made; nor is the time as yet arrived, when the evidence in support of it has acquired that full weight, which experience for a short while longer will probably confer upon it. Thus far, I presume, we already are instructed, as to be able to perceive, that whatever were the advantages Britain might have derived from her American colonies, it is impossible for her now to secure them to herself; and that, in attempting to procure for herself those advantages, whatever they were or might have been, immense sums of money have been expended, and many bloody wars have been undertaken by her, and all to no purpose. These facts will not now be disputed: and, without attending to any others of a less obvious nature, these alone afford a sufficient data for us to conclude, 'That a nation under a government like that which Great Britain enjoys, must always hold distant possessions by a very precarious tenure; and that, on this account, it ought to be her study, rather to improve to the utmost, the internal advantages nature has bestowed upon herself, than to extend her views towards the acquisition of distant dominions, which, though they should

' should contain treasures of the most invaluable kind, yet, in the emphatic language of Scripture, those treasures will take to themselves wings, and fly away,' leaving her not only poor, because of the loss she may thus sustain, but exhausted also, because of the struggle she will maintain, before the separation can be fully effected.

It was these considerations that induced me to think I should perform an acceptable service to my country, by endeavouring, at present, to turn the eyes of the nation from contemplating those distant objects they have so long viewed with an idolatrous regard, and to direct them towards those objects at home, infinitely more valuable, which have unfortunately been hitherto too much neglected.

On engaging in this disquisition, I am sensible I pursue a route that has not been trod by others. The advantages that Britain might have derived from her fisheries, are so great, and at the same time so extremely obvious, as to have attracted the notice (as I have already said) of several men who have been deservedly esteemed for their knowledge, and love of their country. Their arguments have produced conviction. In consequence of that conviction, efforts have at different times been made towards establishing those fisheries; but hitherto in vain. The Dutch still continue to undersell us in every market, in spite of those boasted natural advantages we have been said to possess. Hence it has been inferred, that those advantages are less *real*, than they have been represented. The inference is plausible; it is allowed, though the conclusion be not just. Though our efforts in the prosecution of this great national object, have hitherto been attended with less success than could have been wished, it may have proceeded merely from a want of skill in those who conducted the undertaking, and not from the impracticability thereof. A waggon is an useful machine. By means of it, weighty loads can be transported from place to place, at a much smaller charge than on the backs of beasts of burthen. The use of waggons, however, is not universally introduced into all the countries of Europe. It might happen, that a man, by diligently observing the manifold benefits that another country derived from the use of wheel-carriages, might naturally extend his views to his own, and clearly perceive the great advantages that might result from the use of such carriages. He might perceive, that his own country was much less hilly, and therefore much better adapted for the use of such machines, than that in which he had observed them. He might, from the facts which he had been enabled to collect, demonstrate, in the clearest manner, the great advantages his native country would derive from the introducing into it, the use of wheel-carriages in general. This demonstration might be so clear, as to carry the fullest conviction with it to all who chose to examine the subject. Influenced by these considerations, the Legislature might decree honours, and bestow lucrative

lucrative premiums on such of the inhabitants as should procure and employ waggons in carrying heavy burthens. Yet, in spite of all these inducements, it might be found, after some time, that the people, as would naturally in that case be said, *continued obstinate or indolent, and rapidly refused to benefit themselves by using these convenient vehicles*; and that, at last, tired out with many fruitless efforts, the Legislature might abandon the enterprise as hopeless. After all these things had happened, it might chance to be suggested, that among the numerous encouragements that had been offered, no one had ever yet attempted to make good roads; from the want of which, carriages were rendered altogether useless. The idea is no sooner suggested, than it appears obviously just. Roads, in consequence of this conviction, are instantly made. These no sooner become passable, than carriages begin to be seen: they multiply daily; and a short experience discovers, that without any other kind of encouragement, the use of wheel-carriages becomes universal throughout the whole kingdom. The want of success in an enterprise, is not therefore a proof of its impracticability.

Such is the argument I would employ to invalidate the general charge against our fisheries, from the facts above stated. How far it can be employed in the case before us, will be made manifest in the sequel.

CHAP.

C H A P. I.

*Difficulties that obstruct Beginning Enterprises,
illustrated.*

AN opinion very generally prevails among mankind, that when a country possesses the conveniences necessary for carrying on any particular manufacture; if, at the same time, on account of the general poverty of the people, the hire of labour, and the price of provisions should be cheap; nothing but the indolence or other bad qualities of the inhabitants of that poor country, can prevent them from outrivalling those of a richer country, in which labour is in general dearer, and provisions for the most part considerably higher in price. * Nothing, however, is farther from truth than this general opinion, as there are numberless circumstances that concur to depress a *beginning* manufacture, that can have no influence after it is once established; which circumstances are in some cases of such powerful and over-ruling influence, as that neither industry, cheapness of provisions, or labour, nor any other advantages arising from local situation, will be nearly sufficient to counter-balance. To discover the fallaciousness of this general prejudice, it will be necessary here to enter into some details; which, it is hoped, will not be deemed impertinent, when it shall be found, that, from this investigation, many useful inferences may be drawn.

To obtain the necessary information on this head, and with a view to judge of the profits that might be derived from it in different circumstances, it will be of use, to trace the progress of an infant manufacture step by step, from its first introduction into a place where it was not before known, till its final establishment there, when compared with the profits which might accrue to those who carried on the same manufacture, in a part of the country where it had been long and fully established.

For

* From this general charge, I am bound, in justice, to acquit the very ingenious Dr Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, who, several years ago, published a treatise, with an express view to show the groundlessness of this opinion. That treatise, and most of the other political works of that author, I had an opportunity of reading, for the first time, a few months ago; and I am happy to have it in my power, in this public manner, to express my sense of the high satisfaction and instruction I received from the perusal of them. In the following essay, I consider the subject under a different point of view from that which he has given of it.

For example : Suppose it were proposed to introduce the woollen manufacture into a part of the country where it was not at all known. That the difficulties which will require to be surmounted in this attempt may be the more apparent, it will be proper, in the first place, to give a slight sketch of the manner of conducting that business, in a place where it has been long established, and properly carried on.

In all manufactures, when carried to their full perfection, the different branches of labour are divided, and each individual is at liberty to carry on his own department as a separate business for his own profit. In such a state of things, we shall select, as an example for a general illustration, the case of a young man who has just served an apprenticeship to the trade of a weaver, and who is about to set up in business on his own account. Such a one, without any other stock than what would be sufficient for procuring a weaving loom, and the few other implements of his profession, together with a small sum in money, goes to market, selects that kind of yarn that seems best calculated for the purpose he has in view, purchases as much of it as is sufficient for making a web of the usual dimensions, fetches it home, puts it in his loom, and, so soon as it is woven, carries his web to market, sells it, and returns with the price of it in his pocket, or lays that out in purchasing necessaries for his subsistence and future employment. Nothing is more simple than such a procedure. He lives at ease, without care, upon the certain product of his labour.

Such, in a great measure, is the routine of business among all the individuals of a large manufacture, whenever that is so thoroughly established as to have labour divided, so as to allow every branch to form a separate and independent employment.

Let us now suppose, that the same weaver, instead of beginning business in his native district, whether allured by the cheapness of living, or induced by any other apparent convenience, should go to some other part of the country, where the woollen manufacture was hitherto unknown, hoping there to carry on his business with greater profit. Mark the consequences.

His first inconvenience would arise from the want of implements necessary for carrying on his work. None of the tools used in his business being made for sale in the place of residence he has now chosen, he would be under the necessity of procuring them from that part of the country where they are usually made. They are, we shall suppose, commissioned from thence. After waiting for them long, they at last come to hand. On account of the price of carriage, and other charges, they will be extremely dear. When they come to be examined, perhaps
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it is discovered, that either through the carelessness or the villainy of the mechanic, they are clumsy, ill made, and unfit for work. Possibly, through hurry or inattention, some essential part has been omitted: perhaps some tender parts have been broken in the carriage. What, in either case, can he do? The distance, and other circumstances, put it out of his power to return them. If he shall commission others, he is not only subjected to a new expence, and the same risks as before, but he must also in that case be laid idle till they arrive. If he shall attempt to get his tools repaired by the mechanics he finds where he is, he himself must become their instructor, a task that he is in all probability but very ill qualified to perform. At the best, if the repairs can be made at all, it must be after numberless delays, with infinite trouble, and at an exorbitant charge; and at last it will be found, that nine times at least in ten, those tools which have cost so much trouble and expence, will be altogether unfit for use; and the manufacturer must either be laid idle till others shall arrive, or be content to do his work imperfectly, *because* of the rudeness of his tools.†

Suppose, however, that all these inconveniencies, by patience and assiduity, *shall* in time be overcome, and that at last he does begin to work. It cannot be long before some of his tools will be out of order, and need to be repaired. When this shall happen, he will again be reduced to the same dilemma as before. A tool, which, in his native district, could in a few minutes have been put in order at the expence of a farthing, for want of proper artists here, is rendered altogether useless. Because of the want of this tool, the manufacturer is again laid idle, until a new one can be obtained in its place, unless he shall have had the precaution to provide at first a large supply. Thus it happens, that, to keep one man at work *here*, a greater quantity of tools must be provided at the beginning, than would have been sufficient to keep half a score at work in his native district; each of which tools will not perhaps last one-fourth part of the time it would have done, had he continued in the place of his nativity. This is an inconvenience that must be sensibly felt by a poor man, and will be more than sufficient to counterbalance a great difference between the two places, in point of wages, and expence of living; but this is only the beginning, and the lightest part of the troubles he is doomed to encounter.

Let us now attend our weaver when he thinks of beginning his work. When he goes in quest of yarn, none is to be found. He is now at a full stop. About the detail of spinning, he knows nothing; but yarn must be had, or he must remain forever idle. He finds he must now either en-

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gage-

† The Reader will perhaps imagine, that the picture above drawn, is unnatural and exaggerated. I therefore think it necessary to declare, that it is no more than a true delineation of what I myself have experienced. *Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.*

gage in a branch of business with which he is entirely unacquainted, or totally abandon his employment. After many sad reflections on his pitiable situation, we shall suppose, that, not yet entirely submitting to despair, he determines to proceed. Away he goes to purchase wool, with a view to get it spun. In the place where he is, no wool can be found. This necessary article, he perceives, must be ordered from some distant part of the country; and to what part of the country he should apply for the kind of wool wanted, he knows not; neither does he know how to name the kind of wool he wants, being entirely a stranger to the technical language, and every detail relating to that branch of business.

Here, if he has not had a stock much greater than would have been sufficient to carry on his original employment, he must stop, as altogether unable to proceed. Let us suppose, however, that by the assistance of some monied men who befriend him, he shall be now supported, and be thus prevented from abandoning the enterprise. Wool, we shall say, is one way or other commissioned for. It at last arrives: probably it is not of the sort wanted, and none of the parties concerned are judges sufficient to know whether it ought to be returned or not. Possibly it is charged at too a price, either through the knavery of his correspondent, or from his not knowing where is the best and cheapest market for that commodity. Whatever be its defects, it must be taken as it comes. In like manner, oil must be commissioned for, and he will be liable to equal, if not to greater impositions in regard to that article.

These two necessary articles, let us suppose, arrived; the undertakers are next to look out for women to spin. Before they can begin to this operation, *cards* must be provided, which must be obtained with all the trouble, and at the same risk as the weavers tools above mentioned, with this additional inconvenience, that neither those to whom they belong, nor those who are to use them, can know whether they are good, or whether they are bad, and as little do they know in what manner properly to use them: so that much of the wool will be wasted; and what is spun, will be converted into such yarn as can never be manufactured into right stuff.

To obviate these inconveniencies, it becomes necessary for the undertakers, if they hope to succeed, to obtain from a clothing country, some person who is acquainted with this branch of the business, to instruct their own people in it. Men of established character are shy to leave their native abode, unless tempted by high wages. This constitutes an additional expence. When this teacher arrives, a sense of his own importance will naturally make him assume a dictatorial authority, and affect modes of procedure that none dares to controul. At home, no persons will leave their ordinary employments, to engage in this new branch
of

of business, unless they are bribed at a very high expence: Spinners, therefore, must at first obtain very great wages. In this manner, and in this manner alone, yarn of an inferior quality, though at a monstrous price, may be at last obtained, and our weaver be permitted to commence business in his own particular department.

He does accordingly begin; nor is it long before his web is finished. But when he looks about as usual for a merchant, none can be found. He perceives it must be fulled, dyed and dressed, before any one will look at it. But artificers capable of performing these operations, are not, where he is, to be had. What can be more discouraging, than the dreary prospect of meeting with nothing but perpetual rubs and difficulties? yet these difficulties must either be overcome, or the business be entirely abandoned.

A *fuller*, therefore, must be obtained. To get one who understands this business, he must be tempted by very high offers, and must also be insured of finding continual employment, or be paid a certain stipend should that employment fail. To find work to this man, not one weaver, but many, must be employed. These must be sought for at a distance, and bribed to come from thence, in the same manner as the other artificers above named. Expences are multiplied without end, and no appearance of profit.

These difficulties are still to be farther augmented, on account of the *dyer* and the *dresser*. People who are masters of these branches of business, must be men of knowledge and property: The dying, in particular, cannot be carried on with oeconomy, but upon a large scale, as the refuse materials of one dying vat are useful for another, but do not admit of being kept for a long time. In small works, therefore, all these must be thrown away. Hence it follows, that unless the man shall be paid a very extraordinary salary, he cannot be induced to give up certain business in one place, to settle in another, where his employment would be so extremely precarious.

It would be tiresome, though this subject is not nearly exhausted, to enter more minutely into this detail. What has been said, is sufficient to show, that however favourable circumstances may be for carrying on a particular manufacture in any place, the inconveniencies that present themselves at beginning it, are such as require the greatest exertions to overcome them.

From the above detail, it appears sufficiently obvious, that, in a place where a new manufacture is about to be introduced, no individual can engage in a particular branch of that manufacture on his own separate

account, as he may easily do when it is once fairly set a-going; and indeed, as must always be done, before the manufacture can be carried to its ultimate degree of perfection. A stock is wanted to support the complex operations of the whole, which is much greater than can be commanded by any individual manufacturer; and it is no easy matter, in many cases, to find individuals who will venture the necessary funds in such a precarious undertaking. Even when money is found, it so far exceeds the abilities of any one man to be minutely acquainted with every separate branch of the employment, that those concerned are liable to multiplied frauds and abuses, which accumulate expences to such a degree, as must exclude all thought of profit for a considerable length of time*.---From these considerations, it ought not so much to excite our wonder,

* The Reader is requested to be particularly attentive to this circumstance. Speculative men who reflect for the first time on the means of promoting improvement in a place, are apt to think, that if a stock can be obtained sufficient for carrying on the branch of business proposed, all difficulties are removed; but men of experience know that this is far from being the case. They know, that where many men, who are not to depend on the business proposed for their subsistence, contribute to form a joint stock for carrying it on, which must be entrusted to the management of others, over whom the proprietors (on account of their ignorance) can scarce have any controul, no other effect is usually produced, than to enrich a few artful knaves, who connive with each other in the management, till the capital is spent, and the undertaking is forced to be abandoned. The influences of this nature that occur, are so numerous, as cannot escape the notice of every attentive observer, and serve effectually to deter such from engaging in such chimerical enterprises. The British herring-fishery, undertaken about thirty years ago, under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, was a noted case of this kind.

The above objections are general, and it is necessary I should here enter into particulars.

Those who think that nothing else but money is wanting to establish manufactures in a poor country, will naturally make light of that objection, and conclude, that if the men of property are not strangely deficient in regard to public spirit, that objection might easily be removed. If, say they, the stock required is too great for an individual to command, is it too great for a partnership? or if too great for a partnership, could it be too great for an incorporated company? Why may not the one or the other of these measures be adopted, seeing all the individuals of the country would be so much gainers by the establishment of such a manufacture? Since the measure is so practicable, why should it be delayed?

The observations made above, might serve for an answer to this objection; but something farther must be added. The proposition here made, when rightly understood, is much the same as if we were to say, If a man finds, that by attempting to carry on a certain manufacture, ~~and that~~ the loss, if at one per cent. of his capital is too great, will that loss be too great, if it should amount to two per cent.? or if too great at two per cent. will it be too much at three? In trade, a large capital is often useful, and, under the direction of men well skilled in that department, and properly interested in its success, it may be employed with profit; but in manufactures, a large capital is in most cases pernicious; nor is it possible in general to carry a manufacture to its ultimate degree of perfection, where a large capital belonging to one individual, or to one company, is employed; nor can the efforts of any such individual or company be (a few particular cases only excepted) successful, where they are put in competition with others who have fallen into the proper train of carrying on that particular manufacture with small stock. This seeming paradox will be easily illustrated, by giving a particular detail of the mode in which

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wonder, that few manufactures should be begun in a poor country, however favourably it may be circumstanced for carrying them on, when these circumstances are abstractly considered, as that any manufactures should be there begun at all. The truth is, that most persons who engage in new undertakings of this sort, are not sufficiently aware of these difficulties till after they are fairly engaged; and when they have proceeded a certain length, they see they must either go forward at all hazards, or lose the whole they have already ventured. Hope, pride, and despair, then concur in urging them to proceed. They are thus induced to go on, till they at last either succeed, or irrecoverably fail.

By continued exertions, obstinate perseverance, and great command of money, the undertaking may at last go on with profit. In this case, instead of individuals labouring, each in his own department, for his own separate profit (the only economical and proper mode of carrying on any manufacture) the separate labourers must all be employed for the profit, and under the direction of the undertakers for the whole. This gives rise to new inconveniencies, which must also be borne with for a time, and at length be finally overcome before that manufacture can fall into

the Dutch carry on the particular manufacture here in question, that of building bufs, and catching and curing herrings.

When a herring-buf is proposed to be built, several journeymen tradesmen, who have made a little money out of the savings of their wages, associate together, and agree to build a buf at their joint charge and risk. Among these are carpenters, smiths, sail and rope-makers, block-makers, and so on. Each of these agree to furnish the labour that falls to their own share, and to take their chance of payment from the sale or success of the vessel. The merchants who furnish the several materials of which the vessel consists, are also associated with them, and are allowed a certain share of the vessel when finished, for their payment. In this manner, every person who contributes any thing to the charge of building the vessel, becomes a proprietor in part, according to such proportions as are agreed upon at the beginning; and it becomes the interest of every individual, to see that the work of each other artist, and the materials furnished by every one, are good and sufficient, as his own profit, that is to say, the value of his share, will be augmented thereby. Knowing, at the same time, that the value of his share of the vessel, when finished, will be the same if he shall perform his part of the work in a week, as it would be if he took a month to do it; and, anxious to acquire as great a profit as he can, he exerts himself to the utmost of his power, and thus works with a degree of assiduity, that is altogether unknown where labour is paid by the day. After all, when the vessel comes to be sold, he thinks himself no loser, if he gets as much for his labour, as he would have received from a master of his own trade, had he worked to him for the same time as a journeyman, and is extremely well satisfied if he gets a very small matter more. The merchant also who has furnished materials, thinks himself no loser if he clears prime cost upon the sale; but if he gains as much as he would have got if he had sold the materials to a tradesman in whole-sale, he thinks himself extremely well off.

Being finished in this manner, it is obvious, that the vessel can be sold greatly below the price it could have been afforded for, had it been built in any other way. The several artificers, in consequence of their superior exertions, will, at a moderate computation, have performed thirty or forty per cent. more work, than if they had been work-

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into the natural channel in which it ought to flow. During this stage of its progress, there always is, and necessarily must be, a continued struggle between the master and the servant; the one ever striving to obtain as high, and the other to give as low wages as possible. This gives rise to mutual acts of oppression and injustice, that engender bad humour and dissensions, which disturb the public tranquillity, and interrupt the operations of commerce. In this contest, after the manufacture is fairly established, the beam will in general preponderate for a time in favour of the masters, who will then have it in their power to reduce the wages of the labourers. It will thus continue to vibrate for some time, till at length, from the number of persons who will come to be employed in every branch of the manufacture, an opportunity will be given to the most active and enterprising individuals in every department, gradually to emancipate themselves from servitude, and to establish themselves as separate and independent manufacturers, in that particular branch which each has severally acquired.

Such

is the case for hire. The master's profit, which, upon a journeyman, is usually about fifteen or twenty per cent. is also saved; so that the goods manufactured, can be sold without loss, at forty or fifty per cent. lower, than they could have been afforded for, had a merchant contracted with a master-carpenter to have furnished the vessel. When the British herring-fishery was attempted, every vessel was contracted for in the manner last mentioned; nor could it be expected, that these contracts, in the circumstances of the Company, would be very narrowly enquired into. Was it to be expected, that a Company, in these circumstances, could possibly stand a competition with the Dutch, even if no other particular but that already mentioned had been in their favour? But when it is also adverted to, that the same plan is pursued in fitting out the vessels for the fishery, as in building them, every person employed, in any way whatever, becoming a sharer both in the profit and loss of the venture, it is obvious, that it was the wildest idea that could ever enter into the mind of man, to think of competing with them in foreign markets, with regard to the price of this manufacture, till a similar economical plan of management was adopted by ourselves.

We have felt, that the Dutch carried on their several operations with less expence than ourselves; and have looked on, with a stupid kind of admiration, at their economy, without attempting to investigate the circumstances which gave rise to it; believing, that Dutchmen were naturally disposed to be more abstemious, alert, and persevering than ourselves, without once dreaming, that this economy proceeded entirely from the circumstances in which they were placed. Put the inhabitants of Britain in the same circumstances, and they have been always found equal to the Dutch in any exertions. Bring a sufficient number of people together, who labour in any kind of manufacture, where there is a great demand for that manufacture, and they will naturally fall into the same mode of procedure as that I have described, and thus reduce the price of the commodity to its lowest possible degree in Britain, as well as in Holland. I have at this moment under my eye, a practical proof of the truth of this assertion, with which I shall conclude this long note.

In the city of Edinburgh, for some years past, a taste for building has very much prevailed, inasmuch that there is there a very quick sale for new houses. In consequence of this circumstance, many masons, house-carpenters, &c. have been bred up in that neighbourhood; and these have naturally fallen of late into the way of building houses exactly upon the plan above mentioned, and have by that means reduced the price of that manufacture forty or fifty per cent. lower than it cost before that method was adopted;

Such is the natural progress of every manufacture from its first establishment, till it attains its final perfection. The progress is slow, and a great length of time must elapse in its gradual advancement, during all which time the expence of the several operations will be gradually diminishing. Hence it is, that a manufacture that has been long established, so as to have attained to nearly its last stage of perfection, tho' carried on in a place where many natural conveniencies are wanting, will far outlive the same manufacture during the first stages of its progress, though it should be begun in a place infinitely more favourable to it than the former in many respects.

Though, for the sake of illustration, I have selected as an example, a particular branch of manufacture only, the Reader will perceive, that the foregoing reasoning applies to manufactures in general, without any limitation; and I wish it to be so understood. To many, the minute detail of circumstances above enumerated will seem uninteresting; but they will not appear, I hope, in that light, to such as study the principles of national industry, and are anxious to forward the improvement of their native country. In the attainment of knowledge of every kind, the road is at first but rugged and unpleasant; but as we advance, the prospects open, and beauties are successively discovered, which never could have been seen had we refused to enter into the rugged path at first. Let us then resolve to proceed. Though tiresome the way, the object in view, if once acquired, will afford an ample recompence for all our toil.

CHAP.

adopted; and there can be no doubt but a similar change would take place, wherever alike opportunity occurred. It is only where this can be done, that manufactures are ever reduced to their lowest possible price; so that it is only where all the manufacturers have small stocks, and work with their own hands, that economy and cheapness prevail in manufactures. Whenever a man acquires a stock, he will naturally employ others under him; in which case, there must be less economy than when he was obliged to work with his own hand.

I am sufficiently aware, that, in many cases, manufactures are carried on with profit, by monied men; and that, in all cases where this is practised, the profit may be great, in proportion to the amount of the stock employed: but wherever this arrangement takes place, there is no doubt, that the particular manufacture in question is not sold at the lowest price for which it could be afforded, with very few exceptions indeed; and by consequence it could not stand a competition, in foreign markets, with others of the same kind manufactured upon a proper plan. By this test it will appear, that the number of manufactures, that have been carried to the highest degree of perfection, are extremely few; and, from the reasoning throughout the whole of this small performance, I hope it will be obvious, that in no case can this happen, but in a close compacted community. Holland, in this respect, possesses advantage that no other part of Europe enjoys, which is the moral cause of those habits of industry and economy, which characterize those people. Let any European Power increase the population of their country to the same degree, (which can never happen, but where equitable laws take place, and conveniency for trade abound) and a similar effect would be produced.

Another example of the happy effects of this plan of policy, as well as a proof that mankind naturally fall into that mode of conduct when left to themselves in proper circumstances, is afforded me from the interesting annals of Lenguella a village near Genoa, which has only of late sprung up, and is now perhaps the most flourishing place in Italy. 'A great many persons, says the writer of their story, are concerned in every vessel fitted out at Lenguella; so that when a loss happens, which is but seldom, it falls light. The very seamen are reckoned part-owners, and have nothing certain but their victuals: If they gain nothing by the voyage, the seamen have no wages: if the voyage be successful, the seamen's parts of the vessel are valued at 600 livres, and they receive a proportional share of the profit. The fear of losing their labour, and the hopes of gaining without risking any capital, make the seamen bold, active and diligent, and indeed there are no where to be met with more hardy and able sailors than those of Lenguella.' *Gent. Mag.* 1753. p. 169.--Success is the necessary consequence of this active industry. Another parallel example is afforded by the inhabitants of the island of Nantucket in America, whose efforts have in like manner, and from the same causes, been crowned with the most darling wished success. These men outdo even the Dutch in frugality, patience, perseverance, but above all in a spirit of daring enterprise.

C H A P. II.

Obstructions to Manufactures and Arts, arising from the fewness of the people, and their wide dispersion in a country of great extent.

THE inconveniencies enumerated in the last chapter, are felt in some degree on introducing a new manufacture into any place, tho', in certain circumstances, they must press less severely than others. Those that I now proceed to enumerate, not only affect the manufacture *at the beginning*, but continue for ever to operate as a clog to retard its progress, so as to exclude all hope of seeing any manufacture carried on with success till these obstructions be effectually removed, whatever other circumstances conspire to favour it, or how great soever the efforts may be in every other respect to encourage it. As the not having attended to this peculiarity, is the principal reason why all our efforts to establish the herring-fishery upon our coast have hitherto proved abortive, I must beg that the Reader will be so obliging as to bestow all possible attention to this branch of the subject.

Many are the inconveniencies to which the inhabitants of a thinly peopled country are subjected; among the greatest of which may be reckoned, that life of indolence, and consequent poverty, to which they are in a great measure, from that circumstance alone, necessarily subjected. It is in society only that man's mental powers attain perfection. It is from the united efforts of many, that the force of man becometh irresistible. Commerce, manufactures, owe their existence to society. Bring men together into a compacted body, and like the rays of the sun collected in the focus of a burning glass, their influence is powerful upon every thing that comes within their reach; no object in nature is found sufficient to resist them. Disperse them, on the contrary, and, as single individuals, their influence is lost; their power seems to be annihilated. In that solitary state, scarce an object in nature can be found, that does not resist the feeble arm of man. Many of these objects thus become useless to him, tho' they might have been naturally fitted to relieve those wants which most cruelly distress him. While he remains in this state, therefore, in vain do we look for improvement. Manufactures, agriculture, trade, are all equally beyond his reach; and it is the height of folly, ever to expect to see any of them flourish, while he is in these circumstances. General assertions,

sertions, however, in a case of this moment, ought not to be relied upon. I therefore proceed to more particular illustrations.

In every considerable manufacture, many materials necessary for carrying it on, and for constructing the tools employed in it, must be collected from a variety of places. It has been remarked, that even in some ordinary articles of food, the dishes are composed of materials that have been brought from the most distant parts of the globe; there is scarce a manufacture of which the same thing might not with equal justice be asserted. It is a necessary consequence of this remark, that the materials which are requisite for carrying on that manufacture, must either be brought *directly* from the places where they are naturally produced, or they must be obtained by a circuitous commerce at the second, third, or fourth hand, according to circumstances. Hence it is obvious, that those who obtain the different articles *directly* from the places where they are produced, must get them at the lowest possible price: whereas those who are obliged to procure them only at the second hand, must pay higher for them; and those who get them only in the third, or fourth, or fifth place, must pay higher and higher, proportioned to the number of steps they are removed from the first hand.

It follows, that, in great and populous marts, such as London or Amsterdam, or their neighbourhood, many materials necessary for carrying on every manufacture, or for constructing the tools employed in it, can be obtained cheaper than in any other place of smaller note; because, the more of them can in that case be brought directly from the places where they are produced.

In a large place also, where artisans and manufactures of all kinds abound, and where of course every produce, whether of nature or of art, can be had either in its greatest perfection, or in that precise state which exactly suits the wants and circumstances of the purchaser, and where every superfluity, even of the most trifling nature, can be disposed of to its full value, manufacturers and artisans can obtain every tool they use at the cheapest rate, and can get them repaired at the smallest possible expence. They are thus enabled to carry on their several operations at a smaller charge, and to live, upon the whole, at a less expence than they could afford to do in a smaller place, where some of the necessities of life are cheaper, but where a much greater waste in the expediture of them must be incurred †.

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† See this subject more particularly illustrated, *Observations on National Industry*, p. 348, 9, 50.

If the place where any manufacture is established be of small extent, the trouble and expence in obtaining the necessary articles will be greatly augmented. Let it, for example, be supposed, that the different articles required for carrying on the particular manufacture in question, could be most easily procured from the West Indian islands, Cadiz, Leghorn, Lisbon, London, Amsterdam, and St Petersburg. If the place where the manufacture is established, be not large enough to have ships constantly trading to all these several places, and to other parts where the commodities obtained from these places are in request, there will be a necessity for devising some other method of obtaining them. A general order would in that case be given for procuring the several articles wanted in London, suppose, from whence they might be sent directly to the manufacturing place, if it were so considerable as to admit of carrying on a direct London trade. In this case, the expence on many articles will be very considerably augmented, by passing thro' so many hands, which will be greatly enhanced by reason of the greatness and complexity of business that this necessarily occasions. As the demand for the articles wanted cannot be general among the inhabitants of a small place, the manufacturer himself, or the merchant he employs, must commission at once for the whole that shall be wanted for a long time. This occasions a great outlay of stock, and requires an attention and foresight that can scarce be in all cases sufficient to guard against circumstances. The slightest accident happening in regard to any one article, may derange the whole operations, and may lay many hands idle for months; nor is it in this case in the power of the undertakers to supply the wants occasioned by a sudden demand much beyond what is usually experienced; for want of which, the favourable opportunity of obtaining profit may be irrecoverably lost.

But if the place be still smaller, so as not to admit of carrying on a direct trade to London, goods must be sent to some intermediate port, where they must remain till an opportunity offers of getting them conveyed to the place for which they were originally destined. In this manner, they must pass from hand to hand, with great risk, and at an increasing expence, till they reach the place for which they were intended. And though, in all cases of this kind, the risk and the expence must be greater according to the distance and the number of removes, yet it deserves to be here particularly remarked, that the hazard and expence (the distance being the same) will be greatly augmented as the place for which they are intended diminishes in size, because to small places opportunities of conveyance more seldom occur; so that the goods are suffered to lie long, and run a risk of damage. They must, in these cases, be more frequently packed and repacked, and delivered from hand to hand, so as to have a great chance of being damaged by rash handling, of suffering by weather, and of being altogether lost through carelessness.

carelessness. From these causes, it may happen, that if it be a small village in an inland part of the country for which the goods are intended, the price may be raised to double or treble their first cost before they can reach it : and if the individuals who are to use these articles shall live in separate detached hamlets, they must go to the village to fetch them at a great expence of time and labour, and there must pay such a price as the retailer chooses to demand (for rival shop-keepers cannot there find bread), and must put up with such an assortment as they there can find, though it by no means answers the purpose wanted.

Under these circumstances, tools can neither be had ready made, from a distance, at a reasonable price, nor can artificers be there found to make or to repair them ; so that it is next to impracticable, in such circumstances, either to begin, or to carry on with profit, any kind of manufacture whatever *.

It requires, however, now to be remarked, that in every manufacture, there must be goods *to be sold*, as well as materials and tools to be bought ; so that it is in all cases of *at least* equal consequence to find a ready market, and a good price for these, as an easy purchase of the raw materials. In some branches of business, particularly in agriculture and fisheries, where tools are the principal articles that can ever be wanted from others,

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* I find myself here at a great loss for a proper illustration of the subject treated in the text. Those who have not been accustomed to revolve subjects of this kind in their minds, will naturally be disposed to think, that the difficulties mentioned are of much more trifling import, than I seem to ascribe to them ; nor will those of the most superior talents, who have lived in populous districts, be able easily to form an idea of the full import of the objection here stated. The operations of commerce are so complicated, and success depends so much upon the concurrence of an infinite diversity of circumstances, each of which appears to be in itself of the most insignificant nature, that when an attempt is made to point them out, the details are necessarily so prolix, and the particulars adverted to are so minute, as to render the description intolerably dry and uninteresting. For this reason, few writers attempt to enter into these details ; and speculative men, who only acquire their knowledge of commercial subjects from books, are led to form erroneous opinions, which give rise to laws that too often *cramp*, instead of forwarding those branches of trade they were intended to promote ; and it is owing to these seeming trivial circumstances not being explained, or sufficiently adverted to, that so many facts occur every day in the course of trade, that appear to be of the most paradoxical nature. Men of business, instructed by practice in the proper operations of commerce, attend with care to the facts, but seldom trouble their heads about the explanation of them. Principal manufacturers find, that it is most for their profit, to send their goods to London, Amsterdam, or other large and populous *markets* ; and that is all that they are interested to know. But why the merchants of those places should be able to give them a better price than others, while the goods are there sold at a lower price than any others can afford them, they know not ; and it would require a detail, which few people would attend to, should I here attempt to explain how it happens that goods can sometimes be sold with profit in distant markets, at a price that seems to be below the prime cost of them. See Observations on National Industry, p. 269, and 270.

others, a market for the produce is of much more important concern than the other. In this respect, also, the same rule holds good as before; viz. that the best price will always be obtained in those places from whence the several articles to be sold, can be carried *directly* to the different markets where they are in greatest request*. This is the reason that a man who in London should have a single herring to dispose of, or one barrel only, or ten thousand barrels, would find no difficulty in selling either of these to the best account; for the home-consumpt is not only considerable, but daily opportunities there occur, of ships sailing to all the different ports where these articles of commerce bear the best price. Not so, however, among the Isles, or along the Western Coasts of Scotland. A poor man there could not in any way dispose of a few herrings; and if by much industry he shall catch and cure a single barrel, he cannot there find a merchant. That single barrel must be sent perhaps a hundred miles, at his own expence and risk, to a place from whence it can be shipped for a place from whence it can be sent to London. This necessarily brings on a great charge; and as he cannot himself dispose of his small quantity to a principal merchant, or consign it to a factor in London, he must sell it to some huckster for what price he can get; which, it is obvious, must be a very poor one, in comparison of what he would have got, had he been able at once to bring it to a ready market, like that of London †.

Thus it appears, that because of the paucity of the inhabitants, and the detached nature of the hamlets in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, every kind of manufacture, or useful species of industry, has been effectually barred from getting any footing among the people; nor is it possible, in the present state of things, that it should be otherwise, how much soever the inhabitants may wish for it themselves, or whatever exertions they may make to better their condition. Even a fishery affords no exception to this hard law of necessity. Not a single article that is necessary for repairing boats or nets, or fishing-tackle, can be there bought, but at an extravagant price; and the poor fisher-man in general, must himself be carpenter, manufacturer, and every thing, because artificers cannot be had in a straggling country, where employment of course must be wanting: nor is it possible for him, could he obtain these articles, to profit by catching and curing of those very fish which come in myriads to his door; while the Dutch, under a better regulated police, can be profited by that employment, though they are obliged to come a hundred leagues from home in search of them.

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* The phrase 'can be carried,' must here be understood to apply equally to moral as to physical possibility. It is not enough that it is physically possible to carry an article directly to the port in question. If the quantity of goods to be sold is not sufficient to load a vessel, or if an opportunity does not occur of sending them with facility, it is nearly the same thing in many cases to the seller, as if they could not be sent at all.

† See observations on National Industry, p. 67, 68, and 69, where this subject is otherwise illustrated.

Let us not therefore any longer accuse the innocent inhabitants of these hitherto desert regions, of crimes of which they are not guilty. If they are indolent at home, that indolence proceeds in them from dire necessity; an indolence so contrary to their natural dispositions, as makes them in great numbers leave with disgust their native home, and, by their industry, their activity, their patience, frugality and fortitude in every corner of the globe, give the most unequivocal proofs of the falsity of the slanderous accusation. Have they, in our armies, ever shrunk from danger, or murmured at the severity of duty? The man has not yet appeared, who has but whispered an accent to their dispraise. Patient under hardships and fatigue, forward and bold in enterprise, abstemious in food, and frugal in expence: such is the character they bear in every part of the world, but at home. What blame then must it not reflect upon the Governors of the Nation, to suffer so great a number of *such* people to be sunk in want, and buried in hopeless poverty. These very people are alone a treasure of inestimable value. It is a mine which needs but to be opened, to pour in upon the nation a fund of inexhaustible wealth. I now proceed to develop the means by which we may be enabled to avail ourselves of these hitherto neglected treasures.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

A Plan proposed, by which the Obstructions arising from the fore-mentioned causes may be removed, and the Fisheries fully established among the Isles, and upon the coast of Scotland.

IF the reasoning in the foregoing chapters be just, we shall be under the necessity of concluding, that, till the inhabitants of the Highlands and Isles be induced to quit their solitary retreats, and to unite into larger communities, where individuals can mutually give and receive assistance in every undertaking, it is vain to hope, that ever the fishings, or any other improvement that is to be carried on by the industry of the people, can there be brought to perfection. The first step, therefore, to these improvements, and that on which all others depend, is to establish in these districts, some great trading marts, in which could be readily bought or sold, *at the first hand*, all things that are the produce of the country itself, as well as those that the inhabitants stand in need of from other countries.

It is an old observation, that man never knows how to value the blessings that fall to his lot in life, till he is by some accident deprived of them. His reasoning faculty is seldom exercised in drawing a parallel between the favourable nature of his own situation in life when compared with that of others, but rather the reverse. Hence it is that *we* who have long enjoyed the blessings that result from society, seldom extend our views to those early periods, when solitary man roamed through the desert in quest of food, little distinguished from the beasts of prey its natural inhabitants. In the infancy of society, however, men impressed with a grateful sense of the benefits they derived from the labours of those superior mortals, who, by collecting them together, first taught them the rudiments of arts and government, have perpetuated their names by traditionary praises, which at last exalted those distinguished mortals to the rank of Gods among their grateful countrymen. It is to this circumstance we must ascribe the honours that Orpheus, Linus, Hermes, and other traditionary heroes, received from mankind; and even almost within the aera of certain history, we must ascribe the honours which Theseus acquired, chiefly to his having collected the scattered inhabitants of Attica into towns, and having thus laid the foundation of that pre-eminence in arts, in learning, and in power, which afterwards

so eminently distinguished that small infertile spot. In the days of Theseus, it would have been vain to search for a Phidias, an Apelles, a Demosthenes, or a Solon, in the wilds of Attica; and no premiums could have enabled the solitary inhabitants of the desert to have then constructed a Lyceum or an Areopagus; equally vain would it be in us to expect such exertions from the detached inhabitants of the Hebrides, as can only be derived from the influence of society among mankind. To offer premiums, is in this case a reproach to the understanding of those who propose them; and an insult, an unintended insult, however, I shall suppose, to those for whose behoof it would seem they had been originally intended*.

Europe, in general, not many ages ago, was in a situation not extremely different from that of the Hebrides at present; and necessity taught our forefathers, gradually to adopt contrivances, with a view to free themselves in some measure from the evils which sprang from that source. It was this, that, at an early period, gave rise to those great national marts or fairs, so frequently mentioned in the annals of the middle ages, in terms of rapture and astonishment. In those fairs, of the importance and magnificence of which we now can scarcely form an adequate idea, a great part of the trade of Europe was carried on for many ages. Fairs gradually gave way to the less brilliant, but more steady and oeconomic trade that was carried on in strong free cities, where merchants were always protected from danger. For some time, however, with a view to give a brilliancy to certain places, and to attract to them a concourse of strangers, it was found convenient to adopt a contrivance, even in these towns, the idea of which was evidently borrowed from the fairs. It was this that gave rise to what was called the *staple* towns, so often mentioned in history, about three hundred years ago; to which staple towns, certain branches of commerce were publicly and exclusively appropriated, the dealers in which articles were entitled to ample immunities, and liberal protection. But as the principles of trade began to be more generally understood and applied, even the staple towns have gradually sunk into oblivion. Merchants being now every-where protected, numerous trading towns have arisen, which, merely in consequence of the numbers of people they contain, and the wealth of their merchants, form fixed marts, where commodities of every sort can at all times be freely bought and sold. In places of smaller note, particular market days are appropriated for carrying on the bulk of their commerce, at which times an unusual concourse of people assemble, and the several articles they have to dispose of are publicly sold. In country places, where inhabitants

* Let it not be supposed that I here mean to insinuate, that premiums may not in any case prove beneficial to commerce. I only wish to turn the attention of my readers from this expensive, and too often inefficacious mode of encouraging trade, to others of a more universal and effectual nature.

inhabitants are few, their little local trade is still carried on at public meetings, which to this day retain the name of *fairs*, tho' they scarce, in any other respect but the name, resemble those great national meetings held under that appellation in times of old.

All these notices tend to show, that trade cannot exist but where large bodies of men are assembled together; and altho' it be possible to carry it on to a *certain degree* at temporary meetings appointed for that purpose, yet the inconveniencies attending that mode of commerce are so great, as to put it out of the power of those who adhere to it, from coming into competition in trade with those persons who live in fixed marts, where goods that are not immediately sold can be kept in safety, and at little expence, till a succeeding day, and where the merchants who transact business are continually employed in their own vocations, without being subjected to the loss of time, the trouble, the danger, and expence of long journies, and cumbersome carriage of goods. But the inhabitants of the Hebrides do not at present enjoy the benefits they might derive even from this last imperfect mode of commerce; so that if no method could be devised for establishing permanent cities in the districts of which I treat, many advantages might be derived from the establishing there some great national fairs, similar to those in former times. But as I hope to be able to show that several great cities might be there with little trouble erected, which would be as well calculated for trade as any in Europe; and as the influence of these would be more steady as well as more permanent than that of fairs, and beyond all degree of comparison more favourable for agriculture and manufactures; I shall now beg leave to submit to the consideration of the reader, a plan, by which I am convinced those beneficial effects might be, with little trouble or expence, and with much certainty attained.

The inhabitants of every kingdom in Europe have a great desire to acquire some fixed property in land. No bait, therefore, can be so powerful for alluring inhabitants to a place as that is. It is this temptation which has induced so many natives of Europe to migrate to America; and there can be no doubt but the same inducement would prevail on them to settle on any part of the British Isles, that should be appropriated to the same purpose, and tendered to them on fair and honourable conditions. Why then should this encouragement, which can at present be obtained for a trifle, be withheld?

Along the north and west coast of Scotland, and among the Isles, many fine harbours are to be found. These, for ages past, have been of no use to mankind, and must remain equally useless for ages to come, if they shall be so long neglected. The situation of these ports, however, is more favourable for carrying on a trade to Europe at large, and to America,

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(not to mention the fisheries) than any other ports on the globe *. It is therefore an unpardonable oversight in a nation like this, whose prosperity depends upon the extent of its commerce, to have so long neglected them; an oversight which ought now to be atoned for, by a redoubled attention. Let these harbours be, without loss of time, carefully examined ¶; and where the situation is found to be favourable, and the proprietor is willing to sell them with a tract of land around, let them be purchased by Government. To my certain knowledge, land in some of these districts can be purchased at little higher price than in America; and the harbours are so numerous, that where one proprietor should refuse to sell, another would be found who would accept of a reasonable offer. Indeed, if they understood their own interest, no proprietor would ever think of refusing to sell, unless the part wanted happened to be the whole of his property; as, in every other case, the appropriating it to the purposes here proposed would prove extremely beneficial to the proprietors, were the land given even for nothing ‡.

The land being thus obtained by Government, let the site of a town be marked off in the most convenient spot adjoining to the harbour; and an area along the side of the streets be marked off in lots, for the purpose of building; and corresponding lots of ground around the town be marked off, one of these lots of land to be appropriated to each lot for building in the town. To adapt these allotments of land as much as may be to the rank and circumstances of the persons intending to settle there, it will be proper that the lands thus to be apportioned out should be arranged into general classes, each lot in the same class having an equal number of acres assigned to it, which shall belong to the person who obtains possession of the lot in the town corresponding to it, and to his heirs for

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ever.

* It is evident, that from a port in the Hebrides, a vessel could sail to any port in the Bay of Biscay, Portugal, Spain, the Mediterranean and Levant, East or West-Indies, with much greater facility than they can go to these places from any port of Britain that opens into the English Channel or German Sea, or from any port in Holland or the Low Countries; and the communication from the Hebrides with the Baltic and Northern parts of Europe, is at least equally easy as from any port in Britain. Sailors well know the advantages that result from the smallness of the island where a port is situated, as they are thus in a very short time clear of land, and can avail themselves of every wind to help to carry them to the wished-for port.

¶ This has been in a great measure performed by Mr M'Kenzie, in his survey of the Isles and Western Coasts of Scotland.

‡ If I myself were proprietor of the whole lands in the Hebrides, I should certainly with the utmost cheerfulness give off the whole of the lands wanted for the purpose here required gratis, in the full assurance that I and my heirs would in time be repaid a hundred-fold for such a donation. Those who consider how much the value of land is raised in consequence of being in the neighbourhood of a town, in comparison of what it ever could have been brought to in a more remote situation, will easily see in what manner that profit would be obtained.

ever. Let us suppose, for example, that in every township there should be five classes, each lot in the first class to contain acres of land, a lot in the second class to contain acres, and so on diminishing to the lowest, which should consist of an undivided lot of one-eighth of an acre of land only, which would be sufficient for the site of a house and convenient garden.

For the sake of regularity and order, the town lots of class first should all be marked off in the most public place, and contiguous to each other: those of the second class next to these; and so on through the whole to the last class, which should be marked off in the skirts and more distant parts of the town: and in the distribution of these lots, the following rules should be observed-----

The only condition exacted from any person applying for a lot, should be, that he should build a house upon it, for the purpose of residing in it himself, not under the value of the sum of ; that house to be built within the space of two years at least from the time of obtaining the grant: and farther, that the person obtaining such a grant, shall reside at least two years on the spot, unless prevented by death. On failing to perform either of these conditions, the grant to revert to the donor; but if both be performed, and due allegiance sworn to the Crown, it shall belong to the grantee and his heirs for ever without let or hindrance, provided that a habitable house be always kept up on the town lot: but if at any future period, any of these lots should be so far neglected as not to have a habitable house upon it for five years together, it shall be considered as abandoned by the proprietor, and in this case also it shall revert to the donor.

And to prevent all confusion among different claimants, the minimum value of each class of houses shall be ascertained, so that every claimant may have it in his power to choose that class which best corresponds with his circumstances; and each claimant shall be at liberty to choose which of the unoccupied country lots of the class in which he arranges himself he pleases; but, having once fixed (which he must do on the day after his claim is admitted at farthest) he must abide by that choice. And when the lots of any particular class are all occupied, the books relating to that class shall be closed, and future claimants shall be obliged to content themselves with such lots of the other classes as remain.

I pretend not at present to fix the lowest value of the different classes of houses, as that would fall to be afterwards considered. I wish only to observe on this head, that they should all be rated very low. Those in the last class, should not be under the value of twenty shillings. By placing the minimum thus low, scarce any person who was willing to relinquish

quith his former place of abode, could be in such mean circumstances as to be necessarily excluded from participating in this bounty. If the claimants have money to spare, it is better to leave some part of it to be employed in buying implements, &c. to help to procure a subsistence for themselves, than to have it all laid out at first upon a dwelling: and those who can at first with difficulty afford a small sum, may soon be able with ease to erect to themselves more elegant and costly habitations. The less expence they lay out on building at first, the sooner will they be able to benefit the public.

As I here mean to give no more than the great outlines of this establishment, I shall only further observe, that proper regulations ought to be adopted for the distribution of justice, for the maintenance of good order, for regulating the internal police, for the support of the poor, and the administering in holy things. For the particulars relating to all these branches, I beg leave to refer the reader to the Appendix, where he will find them treated with all the perspicuity that the brevity to which I must confine myself would admit.

The number of townships to be thus established, should be regulated by circumstances; but care should be taken not to open too many at first, but to settle them successively one after another, as they were filled up: for, should another mode be observed, a number of feeble straggling towns would start up, which, from the paucity of people in each, would prove only a burthen to the State, without enabling the inhabitants to engage in any undertaking that could either enrich themselves or benefit the public*.

As an encouragement to the infant towns, especially to those established in the islands, an immunity from taxes for twenty-one years should be granted, similar to that which was originally granted to the first settlers

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* I entreat the reader will take particular notice of this circumstance. Many proposals have been made for peopling these and other desert places, by establishing in them small villages or hamlets: such attempts I view as altogether vain and futile. If it is not determined to establish large towns, the attempt, upon my principles, should not be made. The larger these cities, and the more numerous and close to each other they are, so much the better. Upon these principles, though I would by no means propose to set limits to the maximum number of houses in each township, I should think it very necessary to ascertain the minimum, which should not, as I apprehend, be less than one thousand houses in the four first classes, (three thousand would be better); and the last class, which would always be the most numerous, should in all cases be left altogether indefinite. By this means, poor settlers, at the beginning, might in a short time be able to sell their original lots with profit, and thus benefit themselves; and still have it in their power to obtain another lot for themselves, well suited to their circumstances.

tlers in America *. But care should be taken, at their institution, to secure the allegiance and dependence of the inhabitants on the British Government, by adopting a mode of administration, which from the beginning should exclude every idea of self-legislation, unless in very small municipal concerns. In the idea given of the government of these towns in the Appendix, it was intended to secure as much as possible the civil liberty of the subject, without giving room for any claims for self government in matters of general concern, which must ever be attended with the most imminent danger to the liberty and public tranquillity of the State. Should this plan ever be thought of being seriously carried into execution, that particular branch of it would require to undergo a very serious revival, by men who are much more able to judge in this respect than I can pretend to be. I only aim at giving a general idea, which may serve to point out the public expediency of the measure recommended, the particulars to be afterwards adjusted by men who are qualified ultimately to judge in matters of such high concernment.

If this measure were finally adjusted, and public intimation made thereof through Holland, Germany, and the other kingdoms in Europe, there is great reason to believe that many persons would quickly accept of the invitation; care being taken to let it be generally known, that the most entire liberty of conscience would be granted, and that the inhabitants should, from the first moment of their settling there, be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of British subjects in regard to trade and personal safety.

But as it may be expected that many of the original settlers would be poor though industrious, care should be taken that they should be furnished with provisions for one year, either *gratis* to such as should be in real want, or at a moderate price to such as could buy. At any rate, plain food should be there provided in abundance, that no want might be felt amongst them. Wood also, and materials for building, and making the necessary implements that would be wanted, should be laid in, that they might all find the necessary articles at hand.

One article, which is of great importance to the health and comfortable subsistence of the people in an infant settlement, should not be forgot, fuel. A store of coals should at the beginning be provided; and that this article in future might be kept at a price as moderate as circumstances

* No objection, I presume, can be made to this proposal, because of the loss to the revenue. The revenue from thence is, at present, little or nothing. By renouncing it, therefore, we give up nothing; and by that means we lay the foundation for an abundant revenue in future times, which never could have been obtained without this small indulgence. By suffering the bees to nestle in a place unmolested, we shall in time become sharers with them in the honey they shall produce. By greedily seizing every particle of honey as it is formed, we never would suffer them to establish themselves at all.

circumstances would admit, the tax on water-borne coals carried coast-ways should be entirely abolished*.

As one great object to be had in view in making those settlements is the establishment of the fisheries, some particular gratuities should be bestowed upon such Dutchmen, Hamburgers, and others who understood that business, as should come to settle there. What these gratuities should be, as well as the encouragement that should be held forth to boat-builders, net-workers, &c. would come to be adjusted with proper deliberation at a future period, should ever this proposal be taken into serious consideration.

Were these marts thus established throughout the Islands, and along the coasts of Britain, some of the inhabitants would naturally betake themselves to trade, and others to such mechanical employments as would there be chiefly wanted. By this means, such natives as chose to engage in the fishings, would find no difficulty in procuring the several implements they should want. Some would find a good employment in buying green-fish, packing and curing them; and others in purchasing them when thus cured, and sending them to proper markets. Many would be employed in providing casks; and others would deal in salt. By this means, the inhabitants would at all times have it in their power to purchase these two necessary articles, when wanted, without trouble or needless charges. In this manner, the manufacture would, without compulsion or violent effort of any kind, be quickly pushed to the last stage of perfection: that is to say, every individual, without being under the necessity of concerning himself about any other department but his own, would find himself at liberty to prosecute that particular branch to which he had attached himself to as great an extent as his circumstances would admit, and to avail himself to the utmost of every advantage that his industry or ingenuity might bring within his reach.

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* Never was a tax invented which in its principle was so iniquitous, and in its operation so impolitic, as that tax. Coals, a necessary article in almost every manufacture in a cold climate, ought surely to be free from every taxation to British subjects, as each shilling gained to Government by this means, robs the nation perhaps of ten, by repressing manufactures that otherwise would have flourished. Let foreigners who want this necessary of life, pay what taxes it is found the trade can bear; the higher these shall be, if they do not repress the trade, the better for the nation. But not so with our own people. If, however, the paltry sum (I speak of Scotland) arising from this tax cannot be dispensed with, suffer it at least to be levied in a more equitable manner. At present, those who are nearest the coal-pit, and who of course can obtain coals at a small expence of carriage, get them also free of taxes of every kind; whereas those at a distance, who must pay a great price for the freight, have that high price still farther augmented by a heavy duty. If Government must have this revenue, a very small excise levied upon the coals as they come from the pit, would be equivalent to it, and would operate alike on all purchasers.

When any business is carried on in this manner, it is carried on at the least possible expence; and when the natural advantages are so very much in favour of the persons who thus proceed, as in the present case they would be in favour of the inhabitants of the Hebrides when compared with the Dutch, there can be no doubt but the former would quickly drive the latter from their shores, not by force of arms, to which a manufacturing nation should never have recourse unless merely for self-preservation when attacked, but by the more safe, easy, and agreeable mode of underselling them in every market.

Those people would be enabled to out rival the Dutch, not only on account of the greater ease with which they could catch the herrings themselves, but also by means of the other profitable branches of business in which they could employ themselves at the time when the herrings leave the coasts. The cod-fishery among these islands, which hath hitherto been neglected for the same reason as other advantages belonging to these regions have been overlooked, would then be found to be an object of very great national consequence. There are banks, as I am assured from good authority, in the neighbourhood of those Isles, which are scarce, if at all inferior to the banks of Newfoundland, either in the plenty or the goodness of the cod. The fishery on these banks would afford employment to a great number of the inhabitants, during the interval that the herrings were not in those seas; which herrings, in consequence of this economical procedure, could be afforded so cheap as to find a ready market in Europe, whatever quantity should be caught.

From what has hitherto been incidentally said, it might perhaps be imagined that I had in view only that branch of the herring-fishery that could be carried on along the coasts in boats sent off from the shore. This branch of the fishery, it must be acknowledged, would become an object of great magnitude when carried on by such numbers of active industrious people as we have supposed would now be placed on those coasts. But, besides these, we must suppose that many *buffes* would be annually employed in the manner of the Dutch, during the fishing-season, searching for the fish out *at sea*, and following them there, whatever direction they might take. By these means, whether the fish should chiefly direct their course along the shores, or whether they should be found only out at sea, they could not escape. In any case, the vicinity of our shores would give these British *buffes* very great advantage over the Dutch, in unlading when full; as, in a successful season, they might run into port, unload, run out again among the shoals of herrings, and be reloaded once more before the Dutch vessels could have reached their own ports*.

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* Those who are entire strangers to the herring-fishery, will not be able to comprehend the importance of the advantage here specified. Herrings go in shoals; and when

While those in the *buffes* were employed busily at sea catching fish during the time the herrings continue on the coasts, other persons on shore would be equally employed in curing and repacking; so that by the time the herrings forsake those seas, many cargoes of fish, ready cured, would be waiting to be carried to market. The stoutest vessels may be then employed to transport these herrings to market; and having put ashore all the hands but those that are necessary for navigating the vessel, they might proceed directly up the Straits, or to a market with a cargo, and return in time to take in the necessary apparatus and hands for the Greenland-fishery. There they might remain during the proper season, and return just in time to begin the herring-fishing during the ensuing season. The peculiar advantages that would result from carrying on the whale-fishing thus in conjunction with the herring-fishery, and the mode in which it should be conducted, I had occasion to explain at large in the 'Observations on the means of exciting a spirit of national industry, 'Let. XVI.' to which I refer those who wish for farther satisfaction on this head.

I beg leave now to remark, that besides the three great national fisheries (herrings, cod, and whales) above enumerated, which could all be carried on with greater advantage from these islands than from any other part of the globe, there are other fishings, which, tho' of small importance when compared with these, yet, in the populous state of the islands which we suppose, might become objects of great national concern.

In all those seas, haddocks and whittings are found in great abundance and perfection. The catching of these, to be sold green to the numerous inhabitants upon the shore, would furnish employment to many fishermen; and the fish themselves thus caught, would furnish a considerable part of the food of the inhabitants. Whether these could be cured so as to be carried to a distant market with profit, or whether they could be caught in sufficient quantities to admit of this, are questions which time and experience only can solve.

In the same seas are caught still greater numbers of another fish called *seaths*, which, though not quite so delicate as those last mentioned, furnish a cheap and wholesome food to the poorer sort of people, and might doubtless be cured and carried to some foreign market with profit. Many other kinds of fish there abound, which it would be tedious here to enumerate.

Besides

a vessel falls in with a large shoal, it can be loaded in a very short time; but if it is obliged to leave that shoal for any considerable time, it is a thousand to one if the shoal be not broke, or gone to some other place before its return, so as not to be found. Small boats could watch the progress of the herring when near the coast, while the bus was unloading, which, by proper signals, could be directed to run at once into the heart of the shoal, where it might be sometimes completely loaded by the fish coming within one of its large nets.

Besides the fishes themselves which would be caught in such numbers on these coasts, the inhabitants would in that case discover uses that might be made of the very off-falls. The livers of all fishes yield a great quantity of oil. Many of these are now thrown carelessly away, because the quantities to be had in one place are not sufficient to be worth the manufacturing. This objection would then be removed, and much more oil would thus be obtained than at present, from the same quantity of fish caught *. The natives might even perhaps fall upon means of converting the luxury of the Great to profit, by ministring to their refined appetites. The roes of many kinds of fish form at present a great delicacy to the inhabitants themselves at a proper season, and might no doubt be cured, as well as *caviar*, and sent to market. Ifinglass might also be made; but these, and a thousand other modes of converting their industry to profit, would no doubt be discovered by the natives themselves, were they once put into a proper train.

In the prosecution of these lesser fisheries along the coasts, many men would find abundant employment, as has been already said, during those parts of the year when the herrings were not upon the coast; and when the herrings began to make their appearance, they would be in readiness to enter upon that great employment, each for his own particular account. Thus would industry be universally promoted, and the commodity be brought to market at the lowest possible expence.

In this manner would be bred, and continually employed, an innumerable multitude of hardy sea-men upon our own coasts, who would be ready on all emergencies to man a navy sufficient to ensure that liberty and independence which British subjects so justly prize as the greatest temporal blessing. This is an advantage in the present case the more highly to be valued, as it does not depend upon the will or caprice of any distant people, whether friend or foe. These settlements must form at all times a part of the British empire, in the strictest sense of the word. Their prosperity must in all cases depend upon the general prosperity of Britain; nor can they ever be disjoined from her, till the empire itself shall be decayed in every part, and ready to be buried in one undistinguishable ruin.

CHAP.

* This is one of the many examples that might be brought, to prove how very favourable a compacted society is to æconomy.

C H A P. IV.

General Consequences of the Plan proposed in respect to Arts, Manufactures, and Agriculture, with other collateral Improvements depending thereon.

FROM the view I have hitherto taken of the proposed improvement, it might be imagined that the establishment of the fisheries is the only object intended; but so intimately are the different employments of man linked to one another, that whatever establishes one extensive business, gives birth to a great many others, which depend upon, and are subservient to that, and to each other.

Thus, if extensive fisheries were established, these would of necessity give employment to a number of ship-carpenters, smiths, sail-makers, rope-makers, net-workers, spinners of hemp, coopers, packers, &c. &c. These different artificers must be lodged: hence arises employment for brick-makers, brick-layers, masons, house-carpenters and joiners. To furnish these with materials for working, there must be merchants, sailors, shop-keepers, porters, labourers, draymen, and others. These must all be clothed; hence tailors, shoe-makers, wig-makers, barbers: on all these depend brewers, bakers, butchers, surgeons, physicians, and innumerable other necessary attendants and assistants in the different departments of an extended business *. And lastly, the whole of the persons

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* I hope here to be able in some measure to give the reader a more lively idea of the importance of the general arrangement I have so warmly recommended, than I had an opportunity of doing in any former part of this work. He will remark, that no man can carry on any kind of business with advantage or profit to himself, but where he can have occasionally the assistance of all the artificers mentioned in the text, and many others, exactly in the proportion that his circumstances may call for. But unless there are as many persons in one place as shall give full employment to a shoe-maker, we shall suppose, that shoe-maker cannot there carry on his business. Again, if there is employment for one shoe-maker only, he may become insolent or exorbitant in his demands, and those who must employ him will be ill served; but if there is sufficient employment, not for one only, but for many persons of that profession, they will vie with one another who shall work cheapest and best, and it is in these circumstances only that the employers can be well served. The same reasoning applies to all the other artificers that can be mentioned: wherever there is not full employment for more than one, their work must be bad and dear; where there are many artificers of one class, their work will always be the more perfect and cheap: on the other hand, where there are many consumers, there will be a ready sale for commodities of every species, whether

good,

sons thus employed must be fed, and for their food they must in a great measure depend upon the farmer and the grazier. Thus it is that tho' our principal view at first seemed only to be the establishment of the fisheries, it now appears that if that object be fully effected, we shall at the same time give rise to manufactures, and encouragement to agriculture.

Now also we are enabled to discover, and to explain, a peculiarity that has much the appearance of a paradox in the plan of improvement proposed, *viz.* That those will soonest fill the country with useful inhabitants, who begin by alluring them from the country to reside in towns. When people come to a town, their reciprocal wants furnish a variety of employments in an infinite diversity of departments, which puts it in the power of every one who is disposed to be industrious to earn a subsistence for himself in one way or other. They must be fed, and this food must chiefly be obtained from the country. No sooner is this call for subsistence made, than many persons perceive it will be for their advantage to go to the country with a view to supply the demand from town. If left entirely to themselves, men will, in these circumstances, go to the country in such proportions as shall be exactly calculated to supply the wants of the town, and no more. It is thus, when things are once put into a proper train, that the interest of individuals continually operates in promoting the general good of the whole: nor is this general harmony of nature ever interrupted, but when we attempt, by chimerical arrangements originating from short-sighted policy, violently to turn the course of business out of its natural channel, and to force it into another, in which it never can be made smoothly to flow. Then it is that men are seen to suffer a variety of distress, by being rashly thrown into circumstances that do not permit them to exert their industry in contributing towards their own subsistence in an adequate degree.

It was this consideration that induced me, in the plan of improvement above explained, to make the interests of agriculture seemingly be forgot, while those of manufactures and trade were chiefly attended to. The truth is, that though agriculture be an employment of primary importance in every society, yet, like every other art, it can be carried to perfection only in consequence of an extensive demand for the articles it produces. The persons who are to eat, must first be collected before the demand for food can take place; and as soon as the demand is experienced, there will not be wanting efforts to supply that demand, which will
be

good, bad, or indifferent, if the price be proportioned to the intrinsic value. In a populous country, therefore, no labour can be lost, nor any money misapplied, but thro' ignorance or inadvertency, which is very far from being the case in a thinly peopled district.

be vigorous in proportion to the urgency of the case. But, in order to extend the influence of that demand as much as possible, and that the inhabitants of the town may be supplied with necessaries from the country at the cheapest rate and in abundant quantity, great pains should be taken to make easy and practicable roads to all the places around. The making of roads is indeed an object of such public national concern, that too much care can never be bestowed upon them. The prosperity of agriculture, if the country at large be considered, depends entirely upon that circumstance, towns being once established: Manufactures, depending in a great measure on agriculture, must also languish in proportion to the badness of roads; and commerce, which ultimately depends on agriculture and manufactures, never can flourish, where these, its chief supporters, are in a languishing condition. In vain, therefore, would we assemble persons together in towns, with a view to promote commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, unless we at the same time took care to make these places accessible by means of easy and practicable roads to every part of the adjacent country. For the want of this indispensable convenience, articles from the country could not be obtained in abundance, or at a moderate price. The people, by consequence, would experience an unavoidable distress; and after languishing for some time in poverty, they would gradually abandon a place in which neither pleasure nor profit could be found.

For these reasons, should it ever be intended to carry the above-mentioned plan into execution, it ought to be at the beginning resolved on by Government, to open a communication between the different towns to be thus formed, and the internal parts of the country around, by making good practicable roads, properly conducted, so as to admit of easy access in loaded carriages from place to place every-where. By that means, the towns would be abundantly supplied with necessaries, and the country would receive every improvement that its nature could admit of. As the inhabitants acquired riches, new manufactures of the most necessary articles would be established in those internal parts of the country which were peculiarly adapted for the purpose: Villages and towns would there gradually spring up, and the whole country would in time be cultivated as far as practicable.

As no town can flourish without roads leading to it, so no trade can be carried on without regular intelligence from distant places. Should this improvement therefore be resolved on, it would be necessary also to establish a regular circulation of letters by post throughout all the towns upon the west coast of Britain, at least three times a week; and a packet should be regularly dispatched from a convenient port upon the West coast for the Western islands, and another from the North coast to the Orkney islands, at least *once* a-week. These packets should go in as

direct a course as possible to the most considerable islands, and from the principal stations in that direct route should be dispatched by packets to places of smaller note. Regular packets should in the same manner be dispatched to the Shetland isles thro' the Orkneys, as the communication between the different islands should be as direct as possible. By means of these packets, not only letters could be conveyed, but many small necessaries the inhabitants might want from distant places could be commodiously obtained.

I here take no notice of premiums, bounties, debentures, &c. on which so much stress has been laid in former times, not only because I do not think myself sufficiently acquainted with the *minutiæ* of the business to speak with the certainty I would wish to do on these heads, but also because I do not wish to embarrass the great outlines of this proposal with matters of smaller importance, and because these considerations may, without inconvenience, be postponed till a future day of discussion. No doubt if these encouragements should be granted *with judgment*, in consequence of a thorough investigation of the subject, they might be attended with beneficial effects; but, at the best, they can only be considered as of *secondary* importance. Unless the basis be firmly laid by the great arrangement above described, all these lesser helps will only give rise to private jobs, exhaust the public treasure, and avail nothing.

Before premiums are adopted, it would be necessary that the whole progress of the fishery should be minutely enquired into upon the spot, by a person of judgment, integrity, and knowledge, who should take a very particular survey of all the circumstances that tend to retard the progress of that undertaking, and who, by being thus particularly instructed himself, could suggest such measures to those in power, as would effectually tend to remove those obstructions that may incidentally occur. He should also be required to have a perpetually superintending care, and should be invested with authority to obviate lesser inconveniences that might occur, and be enjoined to represent, without delay, all such circumstances of greater moment as required the immediate interposition of the executive power of the State.

I shall here mention only one circumstance, which will show in some measure the benefits that might be derived from such a superintendent. At present, the fish sometimes go to one coast, and sometimes to another; and as the fishermen have no means of obtaining information where they are, it frequently happens that many hands are idle in one place, while they might have full employment at another, did they know in time to go to the place where the herring-shoals are at the time. It also happens, that the form of nets, and mode of fishing which succeeds well in one place, will not at all answer in another; in consequence of which, the
inhabitants,

inhabitants, when the fish come upon the coast, are not able to avail themselves of the blessing that Heaven throws in their power, which they might easily do were they properly instructed. The inhabitants of Caithness and Sutherland have been long accustomed to catch herrings on their own shores; and have obtained a particular apparatus for that purpose, which answers very well with them upon the thallow shores of that coast. Of late years, the herring-choals, instead of frequenting the North shore of the Murray-firth, have come rather towards the South shore, where the inhabitants have not been in the custom of catching them. Finding them there, however, they borrowed nets, &c. from their neighbours on the opposite side of the firth; but the nets being too short for the deep seas upon the coast of Buchan, were found to be of no use there, and have been laid aside; the fishermen there, contenting themselves with tying three or four fishing-hooks back to back, and dropping them among the herrings, and then pulling the line quickly up, they frequently catch the fish by the belly, or any other part, and bring it up. In this awkward way, many are caught. But where they so much abound as to admit of being taken in this manner, the profits the inhabitants might derive by being at once instructed in the proper method of fishing, by a person well acquainted with the business, would be very great.

One other improvement, however, it is proper here to mention, as of great national concern, which ought always to be kept in view, and which would necessarily be carried into execution sooner or later, should the measure above recommended be adopted: that is, to open a communication between the Eastern parts of Britain and the Western isles, by means of a grand canal carried across the island from Inverness to the Western sea, by Fort-Augustus and Fort-William. Nature has so evidently chalked out this canal, the conveniencies for carrying it into practice are so great, and it would be of such unparalleled utility in forwarding the commerce of the nation at large, that nothing could prevent its taking place, should the great work of the fisheries be fully established. The peculiarity of the situation is such, that it would be easy to shew in what manner, without costing the nation a sixpence, such a canal might be there made, as would permit any vessel not drawing more than sixteen (or even twenty) feet water to pass through it from sea to sea without unloading, upon paying a very moderate tonnage *per mile* *. And if, in time of peace, foreign vessels were allowed to pass thro' it, upon paying such higher duties as should be judged proper, it would bring in a very considerable revenue to the Crown; for, unless the duties demanded were exorbitant, no vessel from Holland or the Baltic, to the Westward, or the Straits, would choose to beat up the Channel,

* See Observations on National Industry, page 203, where this subject is more particularly treated.

Channel, or to go North about, when they could in so much less time, and with such inferior risk, pass thro' that canal. This alone is an object of great national consequence; and tho' it be in this place only mentioned incidentally as one consequence of the plan I here have ventured to recommend, yet it well deserves to be taken into serious consideration as a public concern of the first degree of importance.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

Advantages that would result from the proposed Institution, in regard to Population, Revenue, Wealth, and National Strength.

HAVING, in the foregoing chapters, explained the nature and circumstances of the improvement proposed, it will be expected that I should now enter somewhat more minutely than has hitherto been done, into a detail of the benefits that would result to the community, if it be carried into practice. On this branch of my subject I enter with some degree of reluctance. What has been already said, may serve to prove, that the benefits the nation would derive from this improvement would be great and unequivocal. Were I to enter into a minute detail of *all* particulars, and state them in those glowing colours they naturally assume to me, the account would seem to many hyperbolical, so as to throw an air of exaggeration upon the whole proposal. To avoid that imputation as much as may be, I shall only select a few of the most obvious consequences, and shall mention them in as moderate terms as appear to me consistent with truth and justice. At the same time, I beg the reader will cautiously deduct from each particular as he goes along, whatever proportion belonging to that article he shall think there is the most distant reason to suppose is over-rated, and then draw a general conclusion for himself. This will free him from any apprehension of being led into an error by the author.

The bulk of the people in the Highlands and Isles have been suffered to languish for ages past in poverty and idleness. They have been hastily and unjustly accused of indolence. That ill-sounded stigma, I hope, will now be removed. They have, in truth, struggled hard to overcome the inconveniences of their lot, but have not been able to succeed. They have, therefore, in the indignant pride of youth, forsaken in great numbers the gloomy indolence of home, and have eagerly searched for busier scenes in other countries. In consequence of those perpetual drains from that country the numbers of the people have not increased, tho' their healthfulness, longevity, and fruitfulness, can be exceeded in no part of the globe. Should the arrangement proposed be attended with no other beneficial effect than the keeping all these at home, it would soon be found, that without the addition of foreign emigrants, many towns might be well peopled, and the country be no worse inhabited than

than at present. But should emigrants from other less happy countries come hither in abundance in consequence of the encouragement proposed, the population of these regions would increase with a rapidity that could not in all probability be equalled by that of any part even of America itself. In consequence thereof, those districts which are at present desert wastes would swarm with inhabitants; and many regions would then be cultivated, and yield luxuriant harvests, which afford the proprietor at present scarce any returns*.

That the increase of the inhabitants, were this proposal seriously embraced, would be thus rapid, I conclude from the following considerations.---The security in regard to life and property the subjects enjoy in Britain, is much greater than in perhaps any European kingdom; and as this is pretty generally known, it is scarce to be doubted, but that many inhabitants of the Continent would be desirous of enjoying that security, were a general invitation given them as proposed. And as the distance between this place and their native home is inconsiderable, the expence of transporting themselves hither would be but a trifle. The experiment, therefore, could be made with little risk; and if the first emigrants should find their situation agreeable, the news of it would soon spread, so as to induce many others to follow in quick succession.

That their situation in these new settlements would be very easy in a short time, seems to be in the highest degree probable. The people would at once enjoy all the benefits that are derived from society; which new settlers

* In regard to the small returns that the proprietors of the Highlands at present draw from their ground, I beg leave to mention the following anecdote that I had from Admiral Sir John Lockhart Ross some years ago, which I doubt not will appear not a little surprising to such as have had no occasion to know the state of these countries.

Sir John, several years ago, had a purpose of establishing a large sheep farm on some convenient part of his estate. With that view, he caused persons well skilled in that branch of business, to look over his estate, to pitch upon a spot proper for the purpose wanted. They chose an extensive glen, with surrounding hills, as extremely proper. The persons employed computed that this district might probably find abundant subsistence for five thousand sheep throughout the whole year; but that there might be no danger of its being overstocked, they advised that 3000 only should be put upon it, which they all agreed it was more than sufficient to feed. Upon enquiry it was found, that there lived at that time upon this district no less than thirty-two farmers with their families, which at an average consisted of six persons each, and the rent he drew was THIRTY-ONE POUNDS TEN SHILLINGS. The people were poor, and could not perhaps have afforded ten shillings more rent without being reduced to beggary. Had they been turned out, a hundred and ninety-two persons must have been ruined. Sir John's humanity revolted at this idea. They were suffered to remain, and he searched elsewhere for another farm.

It is seven years since I heard this anecdote, and now quote it from memory; but it struck me so much at the time, that I am under little apprehension that it is here misrepresented.

settlers in every other part of the world are long deprived of*. The means of subsistence would likewise be more within their reach than is usual in other infant settlements. *There*, in general, they must clear the ground with much labour, before a crop can be sown upon it: they must provide seed, guard the crop from wild beasts, and wait with patience till harvest. *Here*, the fish swarm at their door at all seasons, and require but to be drawn out, to furnish from the beginning food in abundance, and to spare for purchasing the other necessaries of life.

The conveniencies for trade, likewise, in regard to such as had abilities and inclination to follow that employment, would be much greater than is in general experienced by new settlers in other regions, which would put it in their power to enrich themselves much sooner by it than they could do in other infant settlements. This would allure more men of wealth to come hither than is usual in young communities†, which would give more ready employment to the poorer sort of settlers than they otherwise would have hoped for. If, therefore, all the individuals were suffered to avail themselves to the utmost of the several advantages they enjoyed, by a rigid adherence to the enlarged plan proposed, there seems to be no room to doubt but the number of new settlers would increase from year to year, with a rapidity that may in some measure be conceived, though no accurate computation of its amount can now be made.

This great increase of people would, in the first place, add much to the internal strength and prosperity of the nation: and when the time was elapsed during which these new settlements were exempted from taxes, they would furnish an ample revenue to the State, which never otherwise could be drawn from those regions. At present, the Customs and Excise bring, it is believed, little or nothing into the Exchequer from thence, as the expence of collecting them swallows up the whole‡. With the number

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* This inconvenience is experienced in America to a high degree. The extensiveness of the country, and the avidity that European settlers have to obtain large possessions, place many of them at a great distance from each other, and expose them to the inconveniencies that result from a thin population. Since large towns sprung up, this inconvenience has been diminished, and the population of that country has increased since that period with a rapidity unknown before that time. This would be experienced at the first, were the arrangement proposed in this case to be adopted.

† To obtain such settlers in great numbers, is one reason why in good policy the duties should be omitted for some years at the beginning. After merchants were once established there, they would find it convenient to continue, when the same duties were payable as in other parts of Britain.

‡ I applied to the proper officers to get information of the sums drawn into the Exchequer from the Northern counties of Scotland and Isles, with the expence of collecting it there, but could not obtain it. I cannot therefore speak here with the certainty I wish; but from the information I have otherwise obtained, I am perfectly satisfied that what is said in the text is just.

of the people, would the money paid by them to the Excise be increased; and in proportion to the increase of their trade, would the Customs be augmented: But the proportional revenue drawn by the Crown would increase in a still higher degree, on account of the decrease in the expence of collecting it. This subject requires to be illustrated by an example.

In the present situation of these countries, it is highly probable that out of five thousand pounds paid by the inhabitants, scarce one hundred finds its way into the Exchequer*; and that, on account of the poverty of the people, and the circumstances of the country, the Excise and Custom-house officers cannot draw from them above one fourth part of what would be yielded by the same number of people in easy circumstances, living in a well-peopled country. If so, it follows, that for every hundred pounds that comes into the Exchequer at present from thence, there would be paid by the same number of people in easy affluent circumstances, residing in a well-peopled part of the country, twenty thousand pounds, all of which, after deducting the expence of collecting it, would come clear into the Exchequer.

The expence of collecting duties of this kind, it is well known, decreases in proportion to the populousness of the place. In large cities, such as London, this expence exceeds not, as I am informed, two (some say not more than one-fourth) *per cent.*; and in other towns, as they decrease in size, it increases to three, four, five, six; and in very small towns, to seven or eight *per cent.* In country places, in proportion to the thinness of their population, it runs from eight to ten, twenty, forty, one hundred, or ten hundred *per cent.* of the money accounted for to the Exchequer. It follows, that if the persons who, in the circumstances above specified, pay at present one hundred pounds clear into the Exchequer, were brought together into a few populous towns, instead of being thinly scattered thro' a large extent of country, they would then pay twenty thousand pounds, as has been said; from which if we deduct L. 2500 (being at the rate of eight *per cent.*) for collecting it, there would remain seventeen thousand five hundred pounds clear to be paid in to the Exchequer. In this point of view, therefore, it appears, that by a very simple arrangement, the public revenue drawn from the same number of people is augmented one hundred and seventy-five fold.

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* To those who have never lived in a thinly-peopled country, I am sensible this computation must appear extravagantly absurd. It is, however, well enough known by all who have ever been in such districts, that *douceurs* paid privately for the favour of excise and custom-house officers, is almost the whole that is ever paid by the people in the thinnest districts, instead of taxes. In those districts where the population is somewhat greater, these *douceurs*, with forfeitures because of transgressions of the law, constitute a very heavy tax upon the people, tho' scarce any of these forfeitures come to be counted for to the Exchequer.

If, however, we should suppose, that besides being collected together, the number of the people should be actually augmented, the increase of revenue would be augmented in a still higher degree. Suppose the inhabitants to be doubled, the gross sum then yielded would be forty thousand pounds: From which if we deduct L. 2400 for collecting, (being at the rate of six *per cent.*) there will remain thirty-seven thousand six hundred pounds clear to be paid in to the Exchequer. Let us suppose this number again doubled, the gross revenue as above would be L. 80,000; from which deduct (at the rate of five *per cent.*) L. 4000 for collecting it, the clear revenue paid in to the Exchequer would be L. 76,000.

To see how, upon these principles, the revenue would stand at the end of 60 years, supposing this arrangement should take place, if compared to what it would be should things be left on their present footing, we must thus proceed---The revenue, if no alteration should be made in the state of the country, must be supposed to remain as at present. On the other hand, if the alteration proposed be adopted, we shall suppose that at the end of the first twenty years, the people collected into the towns would be double the whole number of the people in that region at present, and that they would double their number in every twenty years, which I am disposed to think will be allowed to be a very moderate computation. In that case, at the twentieth year, for every hundred pounds paid at present, there would then be paid L. 40,000, deducting for collecting (at the rate of six *per cent.*) L. 2400, or clear, without deduction, into the Exchequer, - - - L. 37,600

At the fortieth year, it would be L. 80,000 gross revenue;
from which deduct for collecting (at the rate of five *per cent.*) L. 4000, remains clear, - - - 76,000

At the sixtieth year, it would be L. 160,000 gross revenue;
from which deduct for collecting (at the rate of four *per cent.*) L. 6,400, remains, - - - 153,600

instead of one hundred pounds.---So that the revenue, in the space of 60 years, would be augmented to above fifteen hundred times more than it will be, if things shall be suffered to remain as they are at present, while at the same time the inhabitants would be much more happy and contented, and less oppressed with the weight of their taxes than they now are.

I beg the reader will take notice, that I do not mean to assert that the precise sums above named would be drawn from those districts at the times specified. I only meant to show what would be the *proportional* increase of revenue; and I have moderated every article considerably below what I think it should have been stated. I should not, however, have entered into this detail, had it not been to bring under the eye of our national financiers this striking proof of the immense advantages that

may be drawn in point of revenue from an increased population *at home*; and so confident am I of the justness of the principles upon which I here proceed (however hyperbolic the conclusion may to some appear) that I, without hesitation, call their strictest attention to this article, nothing afraid that I shall be here detected in any fallacy of reasoning.

As to the benefits that would accrue to the nation with regard to its commerce, manufactures and agriculture, in consequence of this arrangement, it is impossible at present to compute them with any degree of precision; and were I only to mention what appears to me probable in these respects, its amount would be so great as to bring its credibility in question with such as have not bestowed upon this subject the same degree of attention that I have done. I therefore willingly decline saying any thing farther on that head.

In regard to the single article of the fisheries only I beg to make a few remarks, because we have here some facts that may serve as a basis to our reasoning. I hope that every reader who has attended to me thus far, will be now disposed to admit, that were the proposed plan carried into execution, there would be no probability that the Dutch could long maintain a competition with those British fishermen, when once they were fully established; who, by being enabled to lower the price of this commodity considerably beneath what it has hitherto borne in every market, would find the demand for it greatly to increase. Should this event happen, as the quantity of fish to be caught is immeasurable, and the number of hands to be employed in that branch may become exceeding great, there is the highest probability that this branch of commerce may attain an extent of magnitude that has as yet no parallel in history. Without, however, laying any stress upon this probable extension of the market, I shall barely suppose that the British fishery might become at least *equal* in extent to that of the Dutch in their most prosperous days. This I presume will be allowed to be a moderate computation. Let us now proceed to enquire what that has been.

Gerard Malines, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Lieven Van Aitzma, as quoted by *De Witt*, affirm, that there were yearly taken and spent by the Hollanders (about the year 1618) above three hundred thousand last of herrings and other salt fish, which, at two hundred guilders *per* last, amounts to 60,000,000 guilders, or 5,000,000 l. Sterling, reckoning the guilder to be worth no more than 1s. 8d. Sir Walter Raleigh farther computes, that about the year 1667, the fishings had increased to one-third more than the above, at which rate the value of the fish caught would be no less than L. 6,400,000 *per annum* *.

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* Sir John Burrows says, that the yearly value of the fish strangers rob us of, amounts to TEN MILLIONS Sterling. *Dodd's Natural History of Herring*, page 135.

In regard to the number of vessels employed by them, *Emanuel Van Meteren* says, that in the 1601, there sailed out of Holland in the space of three days, 1500 busses a herring-fishing: and *Sir Walter Raleigh* affirms, that about the year 1618, the Hollanders fished on the coast of Great Britain with no less than 3000 ships and 50,000 men; and that they employed and set to sea, to transport and sell the fish so taken, not less than 9000 ships more, and 150,000 men; being in all 12,000 ships, and 200,000 men. And if it be true, as he affirms, that about the 1667, that fishing had increased one-third more, it would give 16,000 ships, and upwards of 260,000 men.

Sir Walter Raleigh further computes, that twenty busses do maintain of people, in building, manning, victualling and providing for them in every respect, eight thousand men; according to which proportion, 3000 busses would afford sustenance to 1,200,000 persons. And if to this be added one-third more, the total number of persons employed by that great national fishery would be 1,600,000.

The above facts are all quoted by *John De Witt*, and reasoned upon as probable; and no man had better opportunity to know the truth in regard to those things. He only says, that *Sir Walter Raleigh* may possibly have augmented the profits, and the number of people employed in the fishery, somewhat beyond the truth. *De Witt* himself, however, has given a computation of the number of persons employed by means of these fishings, which would seem to show, that if *Sir Walter* has exceeded at all, that excess can only be a small matter; for he admits, that in the two provinces of *Holland* and *West Friesland* alone, there are upwards of 800,000 persons subsisted by the fishery*; without taking into the account the other five provinces that belong to the United States, which are usually included under the name of *Hollanders*. If to these we add the fishers from *Flanders*, *Hamburgh*, and the neighbouring countries, we shall be obliged to admit, that the computation of *Sir Walter* falls short rather than exceeds as to the value of the fish caught and the number of persons employed in that grand fishery which has so long been carried on by foreigners in the northern seas near our coast.

There is another national fishery to which I now wish to turn the attention of the reader, with a view to form an estimate of the comparative value of the one or the other to Great Britain. The *Newfoundland* fishery has at all times since it was known, been deemed an object of the highest importance to Britain, and has been reckoned well worthy of

* The reader will find this computation in the ninth chapter of *De Witt's Interest of Holland*. He will observe, that I include a part of each of the classes enumerated there that must be accounted as subservient to these fisheries. The others are excluded.

of being principally attended to in several treaties with Foreign Powers. The reader, therefore, will, I doubt not, be well pleased to see an exact account of it here stated; that, by comparing with it the fishery which I recommend, he may be able to judge whether my proposal deserves to be attended to or not.

I am happy to have it in my power to gratify his curiosity in this respect, by the help of a very minute account of the state of the fishery for the year 1771, given in a pamphlet published by William Augustus Miles, intitled, *Remarks on an Act of Parliament passed in the 15th year of his Majesty's reign, &c.* 4to. London, printed for Payne 1779. No objection that I can perceive, can be made against the authenticity of this account. Mr Miles remained on the Newfoundland station a considerable time in his Majesty's service, and appears to have contracted habits of intimacy and friendship with the merchants and natives, from whom, together with custom-house books, he had the best opportunity to obtain the most accurate and authentic information that could possibly be desired; and such, upon the face of it, his account appears to be. It is only necessary for me to add, that as the purpose Mr Miles had in view would be best answered by giving an advantageous idea of the importance of that fishery, before the law was enacted of whose pernicious effects he complains, and as he gives examples of the diminution of the fishery on that account, it may be presumed that he knew perfectly this state of it both before and after, and has voluntarily chosen to select that year in which the fishings had been carried on to the greatest extent *. On these accounts, I consider this state of the fishery as exhibiting it in its most flourishing condition. From that minute and accurate state of the fishery, the following particulars are selected----

The total number of ships employed in the Newfoundland-fishery, anno 1771, were 838; of which 733 belonged to Britain, and 125 to America.

The number of men employed in the same year, were---

In British ships,	-	-	-	-	5,596
In American ships,	-	-	-	-	865
Bye-boatmen, in 2283 boats,	-	-	-	-	5,772

Total number of men employed, - - - 12,232

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* The law complained of took place in the year 1776. Mr Miles was on the station in the year 1778. He states particulars of the fisheries 1776 and 1777, with the same accuracy as in the 1771; and he remarks, that from the single port of St John's, 109 sail of banking vessels were fitted out in the year 1771, and that the last year (1778) only 11 sail were fitted out from thence. He had it therefore in his power to have selected any year between 1770 and 1779.

The value of the produce was as under---For		
645,210 Quintals of fish, sold at 13s. <i>per</i> quintal,	-	L. 419,386
2,846 One-half tons of train-oil, sold at L. 14 <i>per</i> ton,	-	59,851
1,248 Tierces of salmon, sold at 13s. <i>per</i> tierce,	-	8,412
Seal and sea-cow oil sold for	-	16,524
Total value of the produce of these fisheries,	-	<u>L. 484,173</u>

From these *data* we are enabled to make out the following short comparative state of these two great fisheries---

Total number of ships employed in	{ The Newfoundland-fishery,	858
	{ The Northern-fishery,	<u>- 16,000</u>
Number of men employed in	{ The Newfoundland-fishery,	12,232
	{ The Northern-fishery,	<u>* 260,000</u>
Total value of the produce of	{ The Newfoundland-fishery,	L. 484,173
	{ The Northern-fishery,	<u>- L. 6,400,000</u>

This naked state of facts puts in a more conspicuous light the importance of the object I wish to recommend, than the highest rhetorical flourishes on my part could do. If the Newfoundland-fishery has been thought a great national object, for obtaining possession of which no expences were judged too great, how much more important ought not that object to be deemed which is in view in the proposed undertaking?

I doubt not but many of my readers will, like myself, be not a little surpris'd at perusing the above account of the Newfoundland-fishery. We have all heard, times innumerable, that it is an inexhaustible nursery of British seamen, and that it alone forms the most considerable support of the British navy, on the possession of which all our safety depends. Yet we see, that in one of the best years of that fishery only 5,600 British seamen were employed in that business †. When that is compared with the fishing proposed, which, upon the most moderate computation, could not employ less than a hundred thousand seamen, and, if properly supported, might afford abundant employment to five times

* The reader will observe, that those persons only are here taken into the account who were actually employed in the fisheries.

† As I do not fully understand the meaning of the term 'bye-boats,' it is possible I may be here in some mistake. I understand this to mean open boats, like those fitted out from Nantucket and along the American coast for the dry cod-fishery. If so, the whole men employed in these boats must be natives of Newfoundland or America, and not of Britain: they are so accounted here. If I am in any mistake on this head, let the reader make what allowance for it he pleases.

times that number, no words can be found strong enough to paint our astonishment at hearing the one perpetually extolled in the most pompous terms, that exaggerated panegyric can devise, while the other has been scarce ever heard of, and has been neglected as an insignificant object that deserved no attention !--- This, however, is only one link of that enchanted chain by which Britain has been prevented for several ages from examining into the real state of her affairs. The time, I hope, approaches, when the nation will be freed from this miserable thralldom.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

Objections Considered.

THOSE who judge of the importance of an enterprise merely by the expence of it, will be disposed to view the one here recommended as of the most insignificant nature ; because the money that would be wanted to effect the whole, would be such a trifle as almost to escape notice when compared to those expensive national undertakings in which we have been engaged for many years past. Men, in their individual capacity, seldom allow that they themselves adopt the mode of computation here described, though they readily admit that it is implicitly observed by many of their neighbours. That which is obtained with ease, is lightly esteemed : That which can be acquired only with difficulty and labour, is proportionably valued. The rule is general, and admits of few exceptions.

The rule which applies thus universally to individuals, seems to admit at least of equal universality in regard to nations ; and this circumstance will, I doubt not, tend powerfully to retard the proposed improvement. Nothing would be more easy than to prove that many objects which have been esteemed by this nation as of the most essential importance to it, and which have been extolled for ages as its pillars and supports, without the aid of which it could not even subsist, owe the whole of their celebrity to the difficulty with which they were at first acquired, and the expence at which they have been afterwards supported. * Nature has kindly decreed, that the partial fondness of parents towards tender children, should increase in proportion to the trouble and care they have occasioned ; and an instinct nearly similar to that seems also to take place in national concerns, at least among the lower ranks of the people, who are apt to be dazzled with the glare of great and expensive undertakings, and to conclude, that were not those things of great importance, such heavy expences would not have been incurred : And it is so much for the interest of some of higher rank to cherish in their minds these delusive ideas, that specious arguments are never wanting to confirm them in their wild notions, and to prevent them from giving ear to the more sober suggestions of reason, even when confirmed by arguments drawn from the experience of ages *.

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* It is, for instance, to this source alone we can ascribe that wonderful partiality which has so long prevailed in the nation at large in regard to the expensive and celebrated

I choose to state this objection (the only real one I can foresee that is likely to mar the proposed undertaking) without disguise. It is strong; but as an effectual answer to it demands far other powers than those of reason, I must leave this task to be performed by those whose situation in life renders them much fitter than myself to accomplish it. The interest of the King is so intimately connected with the prosperity of his people, the happiness of his descendants will be so essentially involved in the future well-being of the nation, and the fate of his posterity must so entirely depend upon the state of this kingdom in succeeding ages, that unless he himself shall firmly resolve to over-rule the fore-mentioned *secret influence*, the enterprise I look upon as hopeless. Compared with him, Ministers are fleeting and transitory things. The prosperity of the day is enough to exalt their names above that of their rivals, to lift their families to honours and estates, and to entitle themselves to public monuments and future fame, though it should happen that the very glory that produced these effects laid the sure foundation of future misfortunes and lasting ruin to their country. A Minister, therefore, may wilfully mislead the nation to its undoing, while he exalts himself and family. This cannot happen with the King. It is his interest, as well as his duty, perpetually

brated fortrefs of Gibraltar. Ask the multitude what would be a sufficient price to be obtained in exchange for this fortrefs, it is a thousand to one if you would get any other answer but abuse for your impertinence in supposing it would be possible to name a sum sufficient to purchase a treasure of such inestimable value. Ask the philosopher the same question: he answers, that if the possession of that fortrefs be attended with any benefits at all to Britain, they are scarce perceptible, though the inconveniences it brings are great and obvious. In answer to the same important question, every enlightened Minister who has ever held the sway in Britain, when in a situation that permits him to speak his sentiments without reserve, will not hesitate to own that it has been at all times a dead weight upon the nation; that it swallows up a large portion of the public revenue, without a possibility of ever making any adequate return; but that, of however pernicious consequence the retaining it may be to the nation, it is of the most material importance to the Minister, as it enables him to provide for many friends and dependents with the entire good-will of the people, which he otherwise could not so easily have effected. Thus does the interest of the Minister, in concurrence with the prejudices of the people, tend, in too many cases, to stifle the calm suggestions of reason, and gives rise to many a wild and expensive enterprise; while those sober plans that are calculated to promote the great and essential interests of the people, by encouraging them to live quietly at home, or to promote their own welfare by a strict adherence to a life of sobriety and industry, are neglected and despised. These sober plans afford no room for Governors, Deputies, Commissaries, Contractors, with a long &c. of offices of which I do not know so much as the names. What claim, therefore, have those plans to the notice of a Minister? why should he desert those enterprises of eclat in which his fame will be increased while his friends are fed equally by the plunder of our enemies and by the spoils of the State itself, that he may engage in obscure enterprises where no national enemy is to be found, and where no spoils can possibly be obtained from friends; especially when he knows that the very multitude who are themselves to be chiefly benefited by these enterprises either behold them with indifference, cry out upon them as ruinous, or laugh at them as chimerical and ridiculous.

petually to watch over the *real* concerns of his people, and to stop the rapid career of his Ministers, when he perceives that future misery to his deluded subjects is to be the consequence. It behoveth him to direct the views of the Minister to those salutary tho' unattractive measures which promise to insure lasting felicity to the nation, however averse to it that Minister may naturally be. If he shows a steady purpose to do these things, good and wise men will be found who will not be backward in seconding his views. He will thus, it is true, banish from the throne the busy ambitious scramblers for fortune and for power; but, in their stead, he will obtain Counsellors who are attached to his person from principle, and who will forward the mutual interests of his family and country with steadiness, vigour and alacrity.

Let not these remarks be considered as personal. I only trace the operation of natural causes upon the minds of men, without having recourse to individuals. In affairs of this nature, every general question should be viewed as if entirely unconnected with any particular class of men. Whatever combination of circumstances has a natural tendency to corrupt or over-awe the virtuous, and to screen or to encourage the vicious in their pursuits, ought to be fully exposed, that their influence may be guarded against, and their pernicious effects diminished. Such are the principles that influence me upon the present occasion.

Though I consider the above as the most powerful obstruction that will occur to the measure proposed, it will not be thought that I expect ever to see it *openly* urged as an objection. On the contrary, at the present time, when oeconomy in regard to public affairs is the favourite *word* with the nation, I rather expect objections will be made on account of the expence that will be occasioned thereby to the State. Never, however, could an objection be made with a worse grace than that would be on the present occasion; for never, I presume, was there a national improvement nearly equal in extent to that which is here proposed, that could be effected at an expence so extremely moderate*. Indeed that expence considered in a national view, would scarce deserve a name; and when compared with the improvement that would result from it, it dwindles into total insignificance. In such a case, to suffer that small expence to influence in any way the public conduct, would exactly resemble the oeconomy of that man who through extravagance and riotous living had brought himself into straits, but who was still possessed of an excellent field, which for many years, from being totally neglected, had yielded no returns, but which, if only plowed and sowed, would yield him such abundant harvests as would quickly free him from his difficulties, and enable him ever afterwards to live in ease and affluence;

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* The smallness of the expence I look upon to be the most powerful bar to the undertaking, for reasons mentioned in the last note.

but in order to avoid the charge of plowing, and more especially to prevent that flock of provisions he had allotted for his present subsistence from being diminished, by taking from it the seed that would be wanted for sowing it, he resolved to abandon the enterprise. Who that considers this case, does not see, that to give the name of oeconomy to such blind parsimony is the highest perversion of language? The man who could be guilty of such a conduct, especially if he had a family whose future welfare depended upon the present management of his affairs, would be fitter to be confined as a Bedlamite, than to be dignified with the respectable name of an Oeconomist. This will be sufficiently obvious to every well-informed politician; but many such well know what uses may be made of such a plausible pretext as the expence necessary for this undertaking would give them with the people. And it is an unfortunate truth that nothing is so easy as to mislead mankind in cases of this kind; or perhaps I might with greater propriety say that nothing is so difficult as to make them judge impartially in such cases.

It is scarce possible, on the present occasion, to avoid taking notice of the immense disparity between the influence of reason and passion upon the human mind. Pride and vain-glory have such universal influence among men, as to make war at all times to be entered upon with a precipitancy and ardour which prevents even the coolest among the parties concerned from attending to the unavoidable expence and other consequences that it must occasion, or from weighing with care the inconveniences it must bring, and comparing them with the advantages that are expected to result from it. Nations, as well as individuals, seem to be so strongly impressed with a desire to appear superior to their opponents, as to be incapable for a time to attend to any other consideration, which induces them to rush forward without so much as making a computation of the profit or loss that must result from it; whereas, on all other occasions in which a national expence must be incurred with a view to procure some public benefit, that expence comes to be considered in a light so very tremendous as to prove an unfurmoutable bar to almost every national undertaking. Millions of examples to illustrate the truth of this doctrine might be produced, but I shall at present content myself with one.

It is in the opinion of many at least a doubtful point if this nation could be in any respect benefited by the present war, should its success be as favourable as can be desired *. Yet the nation in general highly approved of the war, and without hesitation subjected itself to an expence that would not have been agreed to for purchasing in an amicable manner the greatest national blessings that the mind can conceive. The proposal

* Of this number I freely own myself to be one; and the arguments adduced in proof of that opinion before the public, are yet unanswered.

posal I now offer to the Public has a prospect of advancing the power and promoting the prosperity of the nation to a much higher degree than those arrangements which induced the war*; and though the sum that would be necessary for carrying it into effect would not amount to TWO DAYS current expence of the war†, this mite may be held out to the world as such a great object as to frustrate the undertaking, whereas a ten years war would not perhaps be thought too much for obtaining the other.

I wish it were in my power here to impress the mind of the reader with a lively enough sense of the national consequences that result from this fatal predilection of the human mind for the destructive operations of war in preference to the more salutary arts of peace; for, could that be effected, it might operate powerfully to promote those arrangements that tend to free us from a temptation which the frailty of human nature seems to be so ill calculated to resist. It would tend to make him perceive that our exertions for a couple of centuries past to establish an extensive empire, as we have been proud to call it, upon the American Continent, has been

* I presume it will not be seriously believed by any one, that the whole trade to America ever was or ever could be of equal importance to Britain, as a fishery upon our own coasts equal to what that of the Dutch fishery has been shown to be. Should I see such a thesis seriously maintained, I would think of returning it an answer: in the mean time, the following facts are submitted to the consideration of the Reader---

The average value of all the goods exported from Britain to the thirteen revolted colonies in America for forty years before 1774, amounted to L. 1,410,360 per annum; and to the whole of the American Continent, L. 1,700,000 by Whitworth's account. According to Raleigh's account of the fishery, 1,600,000 persons were subsisted by it. These persons, if they resided in Britain, would consume of British commodities to the value of thirty-two millions per annum, (See the Interest of Great Britain with regard to her American Colonies considered, page 60, note); which is considerably more than double the value of all the goods exported from Britain, and about twenty-four times as much as these American Colonies require from us.

* The data upon which I form the computation in the text, are as under---The annual expence of the present war amounts to about twenty millions Sterling, and by consequence the daily expence is L. 54,766, and of course the sum expended in two days is L. 109,532. The interest of this sum for one year, at the rate of five per cent. is L. 5,476, which, continued for ten years, amounts to L. 54,760. Principal and interest, therefore, at the end of ten years, would amount to L. 164,298.

Let it be supposed that 8000 acres of ground would be wanted for every township proposed, and that those 8000 acres could be purchased in the Hebrides for L. 8000, (I know it might in many cases be bought for a much smaller sum). Let it be farther supposed that about half as much more would be wanted for making roads and other conveniences for these new settlers, which together would make L. 12,000 for each town. If we suppose that twelve such towns were established, that would amount to no more than L. 144,000, which is considerably less than the money expended in two days of war; and if only one such town were established each year, which would probably be as much as could be properly effected, or should be attempted, this would be no more than L. 12,000 per annum.

been the fertile source of wars and destructive contests with our neighbours, which have greatly diminished the numbers of our people, and increased our national debt to an alarming degree *. It would make him see, that if we should accomplish the object of our present ambition, that of retaining the American provinces under the British dominion, it would only be sowing the seeds of future wars, and entailing upon ourselves all the evils that accompany them, without bringing returns that could in any manner compensate them. It would make him clearly perceive that we have been wantonly sacrificing our people, and expending our treasures with an immeasurable prodigality, in pursuit of a phantom that exists not but in our own disturbed imagination, while we have utterly neglected to avail ourselves of that real good which was always in our own possession, and which could have made, with much facility, the means of effectually preserving the public tranquillity, of increasing our strength, extending our trade, and augmenting our riches.

Should, however, the very small expence required be still urged as an objection to the undertaking, it would be possible to remove even that objection by a political manoeuvre, which, though beneath the notice of a great people, may perhaps be relished by such as cannot understand those *great arrangements* which alone are calculated to give energy and lasting vigour to the nation.--The forfeited estates in Scotland, which are vested in the Crown, if sold, might bring in a sum more than sufficient to answer all the purposes required. I mention this here merely as an argument for quashing at once all objections that can be urged against the proposed improvement on account of its expence. Such little political manoeuvres, however, I for my own part must ever view as contrivances infinitely beneath the dignity of such a nation as this is to adopt. If the nation has no other effectual means of recovering itself, it were better to suffer it to sink at once; for such little shifts, like a drop in the bucket, assuredly could not effect it. But this nation requireth no support from such tottering props. It possesses abundantly the means not only of recovering itself, but of attaining with ease a degree of permanent prosperity which it never yet experienced. If, therefore, these forfeited estates are intended to be otherwise applied, let not the present proposal

* The present and the two former wars were unavowedly undertaken solely on account of America; and the expence of these wars (not to mention the sums that have been expended in settling and protecting those colonies at other times) is not less than two hundred millions Sterling, besides the loss of above a million of men to the nation. The interest of two hundred millions, at five per cent. is ten millions. The consumption of one million of people, on the supposition that so many have been lost to this nation by these wars, emigrations, &c. who would otherwise have remained, would have been twenty millions; in all thirty millions per ann. In return, goods are purchased from us, as in the former note, to a little more than one million and a half per annum.

propofal disturb* that deftination * : refources for obtaining the fmall fum here required can never be wanting.

Another objection to the above propofal may be expected to originate from the narrow prejudices of illiberal minds, in which a jealousy of being hurt by the competition of any kind of rival is always a very predominant feature. ' Why (fays fuch a man who happens to be a merchant ' in London) fhould we ftirve to raife up new cities in other parts of this ' ifland, in which merchants may eftablifh themfelves who will become ' our rivals in trade, and thus diminifh our employment ? Let us rather ' unite in time, and oppofe the meafure fo as to crufh it in the bud, ' which if fuffered to go on, would prove in the higheft degree injuri- ' ous to our interefts.'

It is humiliating to the pride of man, to think that fuch objections fhould be fo generally made, and require to be fo often answered, by pointing to the general experience of mankind for a proof of the groundlefs- nefs of fuch popular fears. Amfterdam and Cadiz are two flourishing emperiums, which in the judgment of thefe men ftand forth as hated and hurtful rivals to London. Is it poffible that any man of bufinefs can ferioufly believe that this is the cafe ? But if it is not fo, how could the new cities propofed prove hurtful rivals to London, or any other trading place

* Let it not be imagined, from what has been faid in the text, I am an enemy to a proper degree of national œconomy : Far from it; I only wifh to turn the attention from little trifling objects that never can produce any faving of importance, to others of a more efficacious and permanent nature. *See below X*

I have not fuch a mean opinion of the political knowledge of the very ingenious Gentleman who not long ago offered to the public a plan for a national reform in œconomy, as to think that he himfelf ferioufly expected any confiderably beneficial confequences could refult from it ; for he cannot be ignorant that fo long as thofe fources which cherish in the nation at large a fpirit of diffipation, corruption and venality, fhall continue to be fed, all leffer cures muft prove entirely nugatory. The man who without attending to this circumftance fhould in good earneft attempt a reformation by leffer palliatives, would proceed after the fame manner as one who fhould think the luxuriance in growth of a tree could be checked merely by fopping off a few of its wild and evidently ufelefs branches, while its roots were fuffered to fpread in a fertile foil which was daily acquiring an accelfion of richnefs by means of additional manures of the moft fertilizing kind. In fuch a cafe, it is plain, that in the place of every branch which was lopped off, many new ones would fpring up, which would not only fpoil the appearance of the tree, but would increafe the malady it was feemingly intended to correct. A fkillful gardener, in fuch a cafe, who ferioufly aimed at curing the difeafe, would begin by correcting the too great ranknefs of the foil, well knowing that if that were effectually done, a very moderate pruning, and that performed with the moft cautious circumfpection, would gradually and imperceptibly remove the difeafe.

Before I quit this fubject, allow me here to obferve, that, while thefe eftates belong to the Crown, they ought to be carefully examined, to fee if any fituations on them are proper for the purpofes wanted ; and if fo, care fhould be taken that thefe be not alienated to thofe great and radical principles, that will check that general profufion which runs through all the branches of our national expendifure.

place in Britain? Let us for a moment suppose that an earthquake had swallowed up these two supposed rival cities, or that the sea had broke in upon them and buried them in irrecoverable ruin, what in such a case would be the consequence to the traders and trading interest of Britain? an immediate stagnation of trade to an inconceivable amount, which would prove the instant ruin of a great number of merchants, and which would give a thock to the industry and manufactures of this country that would require ages to replace. If then these places are of such essential utility to the trade of Britain at present, by taking commodities from us to such a great extent *, why should they be considered as hurtful rivals to us? If the ruin of these two populous cities would prove so extensively hurtful to the merchants of London and elsewhere, is it not a necessary consequence that by a converse of this reasoning these merchants would be proportionally benefited by the creating of one other such city, or of five hundred such, could it be possible to accomplish that? Man wishes ever to monopolize to himself those things he highly values; but benignant Heaven, by its all-wise decrees, has in all cases ordered things so that the interest of individuals, when rightly understood, is best promoted by the prosperity of the whole. Make one country rich and flourishing, its very enemies, if they know their own interest, are benefited thereby. But if even opposing countries are benefited by the prosperity of each other, the individuals in the same country must be benefited in a much higher degree by the prosperity of all its parts. Whatever therefore tends to raise up new and flourishing cities in any part of this island, so far from creating hurtful rivals in trade to those who are already engaged in that business, only raises up a new set of customers who will tend to increase his trade and augment his profits. While they call for many commodities from him that never could have been wanted had not these establishments taken place, they furnish him in return with many articles which enable him to extend his trade with others whom he could not but for this have had occasion to serve. In this manner it becomes highly the interest of every trader to promote the establishment of new towns, and the introduction of new manufactures †. Every thing, therefore, that tends to effect these purposes, ought to be viewed by him in the most friendly light, and claims his warmest support, instead of that jealous opposition which can only originate from ignorance and ill-judged selfishness.

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* The exports to Holland are usually about two millions value per annum, sometimes near three, as in anno 1749, when they amounted to L. 2,716,143. That to Spain is usually about one million; anno 1750, it amounted to L. 1,783,075. The average exports from Britain are about thirteen millions value. So that the trade to these two places is little short of one-third of the whole that is carried on by Britain. See Whitworth's Tables.

† For reasons given above passim, it is plain that it must be long before the traders in any newly-established place can come to be nearly on a footing of equality with those who reside in an old and well-frequented imperium.

Had the scene of the proposed improvement been laid in England, many objections would have been urged against it, which may perhaps be in some measure weakened on account of the distance of the scene. Popular prejudices are most easily inflamed, where the immediate interests of the multitude can be apparently affected by any proposed arrangement. But as the proposed improvement is to be at some distance from England, I should have hoped that this proposal would meet with little opposition from that cause, had it not been for some popular writings which have been lately offered to the public, under the sanction of names that are deservedly much respected in the literary world, which give to their tenets a degree of respectability that they could not otherwise have claimed, and which on that account, demand from me a more serious examination than I should have thought them entitled to in any other case. Dr Franklin and Dr Price are the philosophers to whom I here allude : nor should I have entered the lists with two such opponents, had it not been to refute doctrines advanced by them, which I consider as of the most pernicious tendency, should they come to be generally adopted ; and which, there is no reason to doubt, were they suffered to pass at present without reprehension, would be very generally disseminated through Europe by the disciples and admirers of these great men. Let this be my excuse for here entering into a discussion that I should have otherwise deemed unnecessary.

Dr Price, with seeming seriousness, affirms, That ‘ when a number of ‘ people quit a country, there is greater employment and greater plenty ‘ of the means of subsistence for those who remain ; and the vacancy is ‘ soon filled up.’ *Observations on Civil Liberty, &c.* 9th edit. page 38. And Dr Franklin asserts, That ‘ a well-regulated nation is like a polypus ; ‘ take away a limb, its place is soon supplied ; cut it in two, and each ‘ deficient part shall soon speedily grow out of the part remaining. ‘ Thus ‘ as you may by dividing make ten polypuses out of one, you may of ‘ one make ten nations equally populous and powerful, or rather in- ‘ crease a nation ten-fold in number and in strength *.’

These maxims are nothing more than a repetition, in a more engaging dress, of the Old English popular adage, that ‘ if foreigners should be al- ‘ lowed to settle in this country, they would eat the bread out of

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* How beautiful it is to give fanciful analogies, instead of arguments. I too, perhaps, might have been able to produce some brilliant passages, had I only been anxious to please, or desirous to mislead ; but hard is the lot of that man who has no other aim but to expose error, and inform the judgment. He must tug incessantly like the slave chained to the oar, without being permitted to indulge in those fairy scenes he may observe as he passes. Like the Knight in chivalry, his sword can only dispel the enchanted castles that start up in his way, and leave nothing but the howling desert desolate and bare around him.

* the mouths of the natives themselves;---an adage which has been often repeated and firmly believed by the vulgar, though I am ignorant if this doctrine ever was seriously maintained by any philosopher before the present æra, and therefore it never has obtained the honour of a candid refutation till the present time.

If these maxims be just, it must follow, that wherever a place is found to increase by means of an influx of people, the former inhabitants must there experience a want of provisions as well as of employment which they did not feel before; and that on the other hand, wherever it decreases, those inhabitants that remain must be much more employed and in much better circumstances than formerly: their population must also increase in a much more rapid progression. Let us search for examples to confirm these positions.

The Princes of Spain, who had not the advantage to be instructed by such profound philosophers as those just quoted, pursued, from other motives, a plan of conduct which these maxims would prove to have been consistent with the soundest policy. They banished at once many millions of their people. The city of Granada in particular, and the kingdom then belonging to it, were thinned to a very great degree. Those who remained must therefore have had much more employment, and greater plenty than before, so that the vacancy would be soon filled up. Has this been the case? All Historians agree, that there is not at this day in that district perhaps one-tenth part of the inhabitants that it formerly contained; they have scarce any employment, are ill-provided in food, and give no prospect of ever being able to make up the deficiency of their population. Spain, in general, has since that time been greatly thinned of its inhabitants, by emigration. Have the people on that account become more industrious? are they richer and better fed than formerly? Is their population increasing with unusual rapidity? Quite the reverse. In all these particulars they are inferior to what they were before these emigrations took place.

Antwerp was once a most flourishing city. Its inhabitants were then fully employed, abundantly fed, and prosperous in every respect. Its population is now inconsiderable; the people want employment, nor do necessaries abound to an unusual degree, and we hear no accounts of there being a prospect of this vacancy being filled up*. On the other hand, Amsterdam, which was then a place of inferior note, that contained few inhabitants, has become a place of the first magnitude. But so far

* Should any objection be brought against the example in the text, the same observation may be with equal justice applied to the ancient cities of Syracuse, Verona, Rome, and Capua; to the more modern ones of Marseilles, Lubec and Seville, as well as those of Boston, York and Colchester within this island; with hundreds of others needless here to name.

is the employment of the people from being by that means decreased, that it has increased exceedingly. The means of subsistence abound to an astonishing degree, while its population increases.

These examples afford strong suspicions of the falsity of the doctrine advanced, when considered in a general view : when we descend to particulars, the proofs of it are not less abundant. If the introduction of strangers into a country tends to diminish the employment of the natives, and to eat the bread out of their mouths ; upon the first view of the matter, this evidently can only be understood of those who are rivals *in the same profession*. Nobody can believe that a taylor introduced into any place will diminish the employment of the shoemakers there, but rather increase it, for he himself must have shoes as well as all those who wanted shoes before his arrival. In the same manner he must increase the business of the brewer, baker, clothier, shop-keeper, grazier and farmer in that neighbourhood ; from all of whom he purchases such commodities they respectively furnish, as far as his own consumption extends. Instead of diminishing, therefore, he must *augment* the employment of every individual in the community, excepting perhaps those who follow his own profession, whose business *in certain circumstances* he may indeed diminish.

But though there are some particular branches of business in which a rival may diminish the employment of those who exercise the same profession, there are many others, in regard to which that effect cannot take place, but rather the reverse. All those who are employed in manufactures of any sort that are intended for a distant market, all who are employed in commerce, or in bringing to perfection whatever can admit of being sold elsewhere, are not only not hurt by the increase of those of their own profession, but greatly benefited thereby. Is a merchant of London hurt by the number of the merchants there ? Quite the reverse. From the want of an equal number of competitors in the same place, those of Bristol are their inferiors. The merchants of Bristol, for the same reason, outshine those of Dublin, as Dublin is superior to Glasgow, and Glasgow to Aberdeen. Thus you go on in a perpetual progression. As the places diminish in size, for the most part the number of merchants decrease ; and with their decrease of number, their weight (as individuals not less than in their aggregate capacity) diminishes in the mercantile scale of Europe. A rival, therefore, in this respect, adds to the business and importance of those even of his own profession *.

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* To explain the reasons why these things should be so, would require a very long treatise that would be read by few. It is enough for our present purpose, to state the fact, which will not be controverted. Many illustrations scattered through this work will leave the attentive reader at little loss about accounting for this phenomenon.

In manufactures we find the same thing frequently occurs. What detached place can rival in goodness or in cheapness the cotton manufactures of Manchester? What solitary hamlet can afford cutlery wares as good and cheap as the manufacturers of Birmingham? What small village can underel the woollen manufactures of Wakefield and of Leeds? It is on account of the number of persons labouring in a compacted body, that they have there been enabled to bring the several branches of their own profession to the perfection they have attained. Here, therefore, rival manufacturers in the same class, add to, instead of diminishing, the business of each: And the same observation with equal justice will apply to almost every other manufacturer whose goods admit of being carried to a distance. Added numbers therefore, in all these instances, tend prodigiously to augment the business, and consequently to increase the wealth and happiness of the whole, without diminishing the employment of even a single individual: And when it is also considered how much the operations of commerce and of manufactures are facilitated by this increased population, and how much improvements in agriculture are forwarded thereby, as has been particularly explained in the first part of this essay, we shall be constrained to acknowledge, that the universal experience of mankind, concurs with reason, in condemning as false and ridiculous that popular doctrine before-mentioned, which has been so long blindly received among the vulgar as indisputable, though it has been condemned as absurd by every man who pretended to the character of a philosopher till the present æra: an æra in which doctrines shocking to reason, and subversive of all order in political affairs, have been advanced with an effrontery, by men not in other respects destitute of talents, which has served effectually to mislead the weak, and to confound many of better understanding. It is because of the number of persons the United Provinces received by emigration from the neighbouring States, and the concentrated population resulting from thence, that the people there are enabled to subsist, notwithstanding the very heavy taxes borne by all ranks of people there, and have found no difficulty to out-rival many other nations, both in trade and manufactures, who enjoy numberless *natural* advantages for those employments which that country cannot boast of; and it is in a great measure owing to the decrease of inhabitants in Spain, in consequence of emigrations from thence, that that fine country has lost its commerce, its manufactures, and its agriculture. The rule scarce admits of an exception, that wherever the number of people is increasing, the *business and means of subsistence* in that place increases also; and that where a place is on the decline, the employment of the people who remain becomes more slack, and their means of subsistence proportionally precarious. This Dr Franklin, practically at least, allows to be the case in *America*, as he uses every argument in his power to persuade the people of Europe to send their inhabitants

habitants thicker in as great numbers as possible; endeavouring to make them believe, 'that thus more employment will be given to their own people at home, and that their numbers will by consequence be increased.' The Doctor, it would seem, does not entertain the highest idea of the reasoning powers of the people in Europe, if he thinks them incapable of here drawing the necessary inference. It seems, the polypus in Europe is multiplied by dividing and abstracting from its body; but in America, the same animal is not augmented by the same process, but by one directly the reverse, that of adding to it the detached parts that have been abstracted from others.

A very ingenious advocate for the same doctrine alledges, That 'the population of kingdoms in general is like the ascent of waters. They rise to the level of the fountain from whence they proceed, but no higher, however they may incidentally vibrate above and below it from any sudden partial impulse. The permanent number of people in any country will be nearly proportionate to the number of hands that can be employed, or can be maintained and supported. If these are diminished by war, pestilence, emigrations, or any other cause, as soon as that cause is removed, they will be rapidly recruited, partly by the accession of foreigners, and partly by the increased generation of the natives, from the stronger encouragement given to matrimony*.'

I quote this passage at full length, as containing the most plausible state that I have seen of the argument in favour of the beneficial effects of emigrations. I state it with the farther view of showing with how much facility ingenious men may impose upon themselves and others, by adopting a loose and popular mode of argumentation.

We are here told, 'that population, like the ascent of waters, always rises to the level of the fountain from whence they proceed, but no higher.' But when we come to enquire what that fountain is, we are at some loss to discover it. If it has any meaning at all, the fountain of population, it would seem, can only be, *the natural fertility of the country, and the means it possesses for giving the inhabitants room to exercise their talents and industry.* If this be admitted, it will necessarily follow, that there can be no permanent change in the state of the population of any country; for, the above particulars depending entirely on the physical conformation of the universe, are little liable to change. It must hence follow, that a country which has once been populous to a certain degree, can never be reduced to a permanent state of depopulation. 'The fountain remains the same; the waters must therefore rise to the same level as before.'

* See Mr Howlett's Defence of his Pamphlet on Population, Gent. Mag. Nov. 1782. page 526.

'before.' To ask if this hypotheses be consistent with the state of facts in regard to this world, were to suppose my readers altogether unacquainted with the history of nations. Spain, as I have often had occasion to observe, was once filled with an immense multitude of people; by emigration and other means, these people are now reduced to a handful, and seem not in a condition quickly to increase: Carthage, for many centuries, contained in her territories several millions of inhabitants, which have been long diminished to a few; nor exhibit the most distant appearance of ever augmenting their numbers: Palestine swarmed with people, where scarce an inhabitant is now to be found; and, in former times, the Hebrides contained a numerous people, skilled in arts, and powerful in arms, tho' they are now but a handful*. In these, and numberless other instances that might be produced, we see that without any physical change in the fountain, the waters may be kept from rising so high as the source: in other words, population may be *permanently* diminished.

It would be equally easy to show, if the above definition be admitted as just, that the waters may be made to rise above the height of the fountain from whence they sprang. Of this fact Holland is a noted example. That country is not capable of maintaining, even in its present state, according to the most authentic accounts, one-fourth part of the people which inhabit it; and if our views be carried back for half a score of centuries, we shall find, that in its *then* state, it could not have sustained one thousandth part of its present inhabitants. Should any man therefore at that period have fixed its *permanent* state of population as high as the fountain itself, beyond which it never could rise *unless by a temporary vibration*, how great would be his astonishment now to find, that it had continued for centuries, so much higher, than (according to this theory) it was possible! Thus it appears, that this imaginary immutable standard, this fixed fountain which is always to regulate the level of population, proves to be no standard at all, as that population may be made *permanently* to remain infinitely below, or infinitely above it.

This branch of the argument being overturned, I can easily perceive, that in compliance with that legerdmain species of reasoning which has of late so much prevailed in political investigations, the ground may be shifted, and we may have to fight the same phantom a-new, under a different form ¶. The enterprise is tedious and disgusting, though nothing arduous. Let us follow a little further---

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* See Campbell's Political Survey of Britain.

¶ I beg leave here publicly to declare, that the reflection in the text is not meant to apply to the ingenious Gentleman himself, from whose pen the passage in question has dropped. The singular candour, ingenuity, and liberality of his sentiments, sufficiently show that he is altogether incapable of adopting such little arts for bewildering the reader,

I shall now perhaps be told, that I have misrepresented the argument : that the fountain of population is not alone *the natural fertility of the country, and the means it possesses of giving the inhabitants room to exercise their talents and industry* ; but that it likewise means *the liberty that is given to the inhabitants to exert these talents, and to exercise that industry in a proper manner*. If this definition of the fountain pleases the advocates for the doctrine disputed, it equally pleases me. If not, let them be kind enough to give their own definition of it. 'Till that appears, I shall examine how far the argument is consistent, on the supposition that the above explanation is adhered to.

On the first view of the argument under this new form, it appears, that instead of a *fixed* standard for population, which we naturally expected, we now find nothing that can be laid hold on as a standard at all :---nothing that is more permanent than the caprice of man ; for, whatever shall be the natural advantages of any country, the inhabitants cannot be allowed to exercise their industry, but in as far as their rulers shall be pleased to permit. The population of a nation therefore, instead of depending on physical causes, which are fixed and permanent, would in this case depend upon political regulations, which are fluctuating, and perpetually subject to change. On this supposition, to talk of the *permanent* number of people in any country, would be in the highest degree absurd ; as no rule can be found in nature which is to fix and ascertain that degree of permanency. I shall not pursue this branch of the argument any farther, as it would only serve to multiply words in exposing an absurdity that is already but too apparent *.

The truth is, that the degree of population in a country is in part influenced by physical, and in part by civil causes. The richest and most populous country may be rendered a desert, merely in consequence of injudicious political regulations ; and that which is poor and thinly inhabited, may, in consequence of a mild government, and civil institutions that tend to promote industry and sobriety, become rich and populous to an inconceivable degree. The instances already adduced are sufficient

reader, and disguising truth, as are there meant to be reprehended. But others, building on the foundation he hath laid, might think of availing themselves of subtleties that he would despise. Had not I judged it of very material importance to have this subject very fully investigated, I should not have pushed the argument so far as I have done. Where a doctrine leads to conclusions highly destructive to the community, there can be no excuse for avoiding to investigate, with the most scrupulous attention, every ingenious argument that is brought in support of it.

* I would not here take notice of the quibble that might be raised on account of the words 'emigration, or any other cause, so soon as that cause can be removed,' in the passage quoted above, were it not to show that it was not overlooked. Should any one make use of it after reading all that is said in the text upon this subject, I shall consider him as only arguing for the sake of words.

sufficient to prove this beyond a possibility of doubt; and many more, if necessary, might be mentioned. But if this be admitted, it proves that the combination of words above quoted, which assumes to fair an appearance of an argument, is nothing but an empty form without a substance. Like an *ignis fatuus*, it appears at a distance to be a reality, and under this semblance serves to mislead the unwary; but when more closely examined, it totally disappears.

In regard to mere brute animals, incapable of self-government, of foresight, and of industry, the argument is just and true. The number of these can in no case exceed what the food that nature (or man) has provided, is sufficient to sustain. But in regard to man, as I have on a former occasion observed *, who can bring his food from afar, or by his industry can make the laws of nature in certain cases become subservient to his power, and make the barren desert produce to him the most luxuriant harvests, the same mode of reasoning cannot apply. Even where he is debarred, by the natural situation of his country, from obtaining foreign supplies, no limitation can be assigned to the augmentation in the quantity of food he may derive from his own native soil. Palestine, in such a situation, though at present a barren country, by the industry of its people of old, was found sufficient to maintain a hundred times the number of people who can now with difficulty find subsistence in it. To talk then of setting limits to the population of man from physical causes, is absurd; because no one can say to what extent the industry of man can carry his improvements: the degree of population must therefore yet more depend upon civil than physical causes. A natural inference that results from this conclusion is, that we should exert ourselves to the utmost, to discover those political arrangements, that have a natural tendency to augment or to discourage the industry of our people, that we may be the better enabled to correct the defects of our civil institutions, and thus to augment the number of our people.

The only question that remains to be discussed between those who maintain the expediency of driving away the people from the country and myself, at last resolves itself into this: Will the industry of the people, and the produce of the country, be augmented or diminished by emigrations?---It is of much consequence that this question should be fully investigated: I shall therefore endeavour to do it in the following chapter.

C H A P.

* See the *Interest of Great Britain with regard to America considered*, page 133, 136.

C H A P. VII.

A particular investigation of the effects produced by emigrations in regard to industry and population.

WERE I here writing only for the sake of philosophical readers, I should not think it necessary to enter into any farther arguments on this subject; as what I have now to add, might have followed as a natural inference from what has already been said. But as I write for the information of the public at large, and as many individuals who have not been accustomed to investigate subjects of this nature, may be embarrassed by plausible arguments they may meet with, I think it my duty to imitate those teachers of mathematics, who, after having demonstrated a proposition in one manner, judge it expedient to repeat the same demonstration under a different form, that those who were not struck with the argument in the one way, may have a chance to feel the full force of it in the other. The time required for this illustration will be but short: if it shall prove satisfactory, my aim will be fully accomplished.

Nor will the reader, I hope, think his time mispent in attending to this discussion, nor imagine I lose sight of my subject, while I investigate this question with such a minute degree of precision, when he adverts, that on the result of this enquiry will depend not only the propriety of the proposal I have in the foregoing pages offered to the public, but also many other political regulations of the greatest importance to the nation. If the industry and population of a country are increased by sending its people abroad, it then must be wise policy to encourage emigrations; and care should be taken that no accidental circumstance should ever be suffered to interrupt that salutary dismissal of people. But if it shall on the contrary appear, that in all cases emigrations from a place have a necessary and unavoidable tendency to diminish the employment, relax the industry, decrease the riches, and retard the natural increase of those that remain behind, it will follow, that it is a disease of the most destructive tendency, and, as such, ought to be guarded against with the most watchful care possible; and that instead of coolly permitting it to go on without controul, every exertion should be used to counteract its influence by a conduct in every respect the reverse of what has been above suggested; and that devices should be adopted not only to keep our own people at home, but also to entice as many strangers as possible to

come and settle among us, and thus to augment the strength, the wealth and prosperity of our own people to the highest possible degree.

The question then here to be investigated is, whether the produce of the country will be increased, or the industry of the people augmented by emigrations from a place, or the reverse?

That the *produce* of the country cannot be augmented by driving its people away to any other part of the world, seems to be sufficiently obvious, when we advert that the demand for that produce must be diminished, *in as far as the consumption of the emigrants extended*. The amount of this diminution, therefore, will always be proportioned to the numbers that shall emigrate. In consequence of this slackening in the demand from the farmer, *his* industry receives a check, *his* business is diminished, *his* profits are lessened; he cannot live so well, he cannot marry so soon, he will not therefore be tempted to generate children so early as if no such change had taken place.

On the other hand, should an additional inhabitant be brought into the district where he resides, that inhabitant must be fed as well as others who were there before. This occasions an additional demand from the farmer, which excites his industry, augments his profits, enables him to live better, to marry sooner, and to beget children at a more early period than he otherwise would have done. Add to the number of people thus imported, you only give an additional *stimulus* to his exertions, and augment his prosperity the more.

It thus appears, that in as far as concerns the business of the farmer, emigrations from a place tend in the most direct manner to diminish his employment, and, *in as far as regards him*, to give a check to population, instead of encouraging it. The want of people therefore, occasioned by the emigrations, cannot be made up by the rapid increase of this class of citizens; but, on the contrary, the decrease in the population of this class must be added to the number of emigrants who have gone away, both which deficiencies must be made up by the more rapid increase of some other class of citizens. What order of citizens this is, let us now enquire.

It is not the butcher; for his business will be in like manner diminished, not only by the loss of those of his customers who shall have emigrated from thence, but also by reason of the slackened demand from the farmer in consequence of his being obliged to live more sparingly than before. For the same reason the baker must be excepted, and also the brewer, the mason, the carpenter, smith, taylor, shoemaker, shop-keeper; in short, all those who are employed in furnishing any article of food,
cloathing,

cloathing, or other necessaries of any sort for their fellow-citizens; the business of each of whom suffers a decrease, not only on account of the abstraction of their former customers who have emigrated, but also by the diminished demand from each of their customers in any of the above-named classes in consequence of the decline in their own circumstances occasioned by the original emigration. Emigrations, therefore, considered in this view, instead of giving a general *stimulus* to the industry of all those who remain behind, and of thus tending to accelerate population, evidently tend to diffuse a general languor through the whole body of the people, to depress their industry, and to make them propagate more slowly than they otherwise would have done.

The only classes of citizens which will not be thus affected by emigrations, are those manufacturers who are *solely* employed in working up goods for foreign markets, and merchants who deal *entirely* in foreign trade. In regard to those of both these professions who are in part employed in domestic business, they must suffer by the general calamity as others do, *in as far as regards their home customers*; and with regard to the foreign demand, considered merely in the general view, without regard to particular circumstances, it does not appear that they can be benefited in any perceptible degree. The rule therefore may be admitted as general, *That emigrations from a place diminish the industry of the whole body of people, and retard their population*; and that on the contrary, *an addition to the inhabitants of any place by migrations to it, tends to augment the number of its people, not only by the additional inhabitants thus brought to it, but also by the increased temptations to population it thus acquires*. This general rule, thus deduced from the soundest principles by a chain of close reasoning, is confirmed by the universal experience of mankind. The examples are so numerous as not to require to be particularly specified.

The rule above, tho' *general*, is not *universal*. It admits of exceptions, which, though few, do yet, upon the present occasion, require to be very particularly specified.

If the emigrants, on leaving their native country, instead of roaming through the world at large, and being lost among the general mass of people in other nations, should choose to retire to a particular spot separated from all other nations, and should still continue to keep up a friendly correspondence with their parent country, taking from thence all the necessaries of which they stood in need, *that they could not furnish to themselves at home*; in that case it could not be said that the *whole* mass of the inhabitants suffered an essential loss by the emigration, as it might happen that some individuals might be gainers, and others not such great losers as they would have been had the emigrants retained

no political connection with the parent estate. Here also we must descend to particulars if we mean to speak with precision.

It appears at the first view, that on this supposition, the whole class of farmers (the newly-settled country being supposed to be a distant and fertile one) continue exactly in the same predicament as before; for, in the situation we have supposed, the emigrants are as far from requiring any supplies from *them* as in any other case. For the same reason, the butchers, bakers, brewers, and in general all those numerous classes of the people who are employed in furnishing necessaries for those at home, are equally depressed as on the former supposition. In this case, however, the clothier who works for the home market *, would not suffer any diminution of business, if we could suppose that the emigrant continued still to take the *whole* of his cloathing from hence: But if he should think of manufacturing *any part* of his cloathing at his new home, our clothier must lose employment, and suffer a decline of business in proportion to the part thus manufactured by the emigrant at his new home, as the others above named would do. The merchant, however, who trades thither, may be a gainer by this new employment. It thus appears, that even on this supposition, the industry of every class of inhabitants but the traders to the new settlements alone, must suffer a severe check, their wealth be diminished, and their natural procreation retarded.

Should it be said that the people who go to these new settlements increase faster than they would have done at home, and that though they require not their *whole* cloathing from hence, their descendents in a short time will consume more of these manufactures than those descendents would have done had the original emigrants remained at home, and that thus they furnish equal or greater employment to the manufactures than if they had never left the country: All this I would say is merely *gratis dictum*, and requires to be proved before it can be admitted; a task that I presume no man who is to depart from general assertions, and come to state particulars, will ever attempt to perform †. But should he even succeed in this hopeless attempt, what would it prove? merely that instead of being highly injurious to the *whole* body of the people, these emigrations turned out to prove hurtful only to perhaps ninety-nine out of a hundred of the inhabitants; and that in regard to that hundredth part it was at best no more than merely indifferent.

Having thus granted every thing that can possibly be demanded in favour of our own settlements, it appears that emigrations *even to these* scarcely

* Here it will be observed, I consider the emigrants as still part of ourselves.

† See, on this subject, the Interest of Great Britain in regard to her American Colonies considered, chap. 4.

scarcely proves in the smallest degree an exception to the general rule; as we are still forced to conclude, that every person who goes thither from hence, tends to diminish the employment of the whole mass of the people here, to depress their industry, and discourage population, instead of encouraging it, as has been often asserted *.

If we extend our views a little farther, it will appear that emigrations from a place are not less hurtful in their consequences in other respects to a manufacturing nation; more especially if the new acquisitions obtained for the settlers should be attended with any expence to the present State.

We have already seen, that in consequence of migrations from a place the numbers of the people in it are diminished in a two-fold manner, first by the exit of the emigrants themselves, and then by a retardation in the progress of generation; and as those who are left behind become also less easy in their circumstances, all taxes imposed upon them must at the same time become less productive and more oppressive than they would have been. This occasions a necessity of imposing new taxes even to keep up the old revenue, and taxes still more numerous to support the additional expence incurred by the new settlements; which numerous taxes, by oppressing the people, discourage manufactures, diminish trade, and occasion a national languor that would not have been felt had the people remained at home. On the contrary, had people been invited hither, the whole mass of the original inhabitants would have found their business to increase, the course of natural population would have been accelerated, taxes would become more productive, the revenue would have increased, manufactures would have flourished, and the people would have lived in ease, affluence and content. I beg the favour of that reader who is disposed to dispute these inferences, to prove the fallacy of the arguments by which they are established, by a fair and candid induction of particulars as I have here done. General assertions signify nothing.

Another exception has been alledged against the general rule above-named, which here also requires to be considered. It has been said, that emigrants who go from home in poor and abject circumstances, not with a view to settle forever, but merely to obtain a livelihood, do sometimes so far succeed as to acquire a handsome fortune with which they return to

* Dr Franklin, in conformity to that system he has thought necessary to adopt, draws a very different conclusion, or rather utters a very different assertion on this subject.

There are supposed, says he, to be upwards of one million of English souls in North America; and yet perhaps there is not one fewer in Britain, but rather many more, on account of the employment the Colonies afford to manufacturers at home. I quote this, as well as the former words of Dr Franklin, from Mr Howlett's pamphlet on population, p. 22. not having the Doctor's own works to consult.

to their native country, and in spending that money give employment to numbers around them, and thus excite a much larger degree of national industry than could have ever taken place had no one person ever gone from home *.

In answering an objection thus generally stated, it would not be possible to obviate all difficulties without entering into long and tiresome details. That a case could not be supposed in which the greatest possible acquisition of money might not counterbalance a very small loss of people, I will not take upon me to affirm. I shall content myself with barely tracing, by a careful induction of particulars, the effects that will naturally accrue to the community in consequence of the return of individuals with money from abroad, after which we shall be enabled to draw some general conclusion.

In consequence of the departure of the emigrants, we have seen that the industry of the farmers, butchers, bakers, brewers, and all the other classes of the people who are employed in domestic employments, or in other words of the whole mass of the people almost without exception, has suffered a severe check. The question now is, will these inconveniences be repaired by the arrival of the few men with their treasures? or, will other advantages accrue from the acquisition of these treasures that shall be more than sufficient to overbalance these evils?---Let us try.

It does not appear that the loss to the *farmer* can be made up. These few individuals, when they do return, cannot consume of his produce more than a like number of the emigrants who went away would have done. No, nor near so much; for almost the whole of the drink of those rich men, and the luxurious guests they entertain, and a great part of their food, is brought from abroad. The farmer therefore gains little or nothing by their arrival, and he must still continue to languish under all the evils that sprang from the original emigrations.

The butcher, baker, brewer, &c. all are under nearly the same predicament. Each of them (I here speak of the whole of each class, without reference to any individual) gets only the addition of as many mouths as return in place of the number that went away, and the children that might have naturally sprung from them; in which case, the loss of each would be perhaps as one hundred, and the gain only as one. The balance therefore is greatly against every one of those classes, so that *their* industry upon the whole must be greatly diminished. The same remark applies to the taylor, shoemaker, clothier, and every other person who is employed in furnishing the necessaries of life; all of whom are great sufferers by the change.

What

* See this objection fully urged, Gent. Mag. for November 1782, p. 525.

What becomes of all the money, it will be said, which these rich men on their return lavish with so much prodigality? Is not a considerable part of it expended for food, cloathing, and other necessities of life for the rich man himself, and his numerous retainers? and does not the money thus expended go into the pocket of the farmer, butcher, baker, and the others who furnish the different articles wanted, and thus tend to enrich *them all*? It is readily granted that all the facts stated are true, and that still the different classes of men above enumerated are no farther benefited thereby than has been already stated. The only difference that takes place in consequence of this new arrangement, is, that some particular articles of consumpt are now demanded in place of others that would have been consumed had things continued on their former footing, and that the money which pays for these is issued from the coffers of one man instead of coming from the pockets of some hundreds. Where, I ask, are the benefits that result from this trifling alteration? The persons whom this *Nabob* maintains, he did not *create*. Before his arrival they were in the country, and required food, cloathing, and other necessities, as well as now, and therefore gave an equal quantity of employment as they now do. If it shall be said they now consume *more* than before, I answer, that in regard to the physical necessities of life that is impossible. A poor man will eat as much as a rich one. With regard to cloathing and other superfluities, the case *seems* to be more in favour of the rich; yet this will be found too to be only an illusion. The great man gets many suits of sumptuous apparel, yet he really *wears* no more than another. His cloaths, after he has done with them, pass from hand to hand, and thus save the expence of new ones to his inferiors downwards till they come to rag-fair, and serve as a tattered covering to some travelling mendicant. All this brilliant show is merely a deception. The money he lavishes with such profusion, and which seems to diffuse such universal joy and activity around him, scarce excites one particle of industry more than before. It only shifts the scene, and produces a new appearance without any real change; at least for the better, in a manufacturing country.

But though it alters not the state of the *whole* in this point of view*, it yet produces a wonderful change in the circumstances of many individuals. How far this change is for the benefit or hurt of the community at large falls now to be considered.

No

* I hope no one from this expression will suppose it is meant to assert, that in consequence of the return of this person no alteration at all is produced, for assuredly in as far as the individual's own consumpt extends, the community must be benefited. It was never meant to assert that no advantage is derived from their return: It is only the smallness of this benefit when compared with the loss that is thus sustained, that authorises the mode of expression adopted in the text.

No sooner does this man of riches arrive from abroad than he finds occasion for numerous servants, lacqueys and attendants, which his money soon enables him to procure. These persons are collected from many quarters, and drawn from different employments, to add to the splendour, and subsist upon the riches of this monied stranger. That business which by their industry furnished them with a subsistence, is now abandoned for a life of pleasure and of ease. Perhaps a manufacturer, in consequence of the higher wages this man gives, is converted into a labourer, and so on. All the persons who subsist now by his means were formerly subsisted, either by furnishing necessaries for their countrymen, or by manufacturing for strangers. In consequence of his arrival, those persons who would have been naturally induced to manufacture goods for a foreign market, and thus to draw from thence the means of their subsistence, find themselves enabled to live without it in idleness *. The wages of labourers and manufacturers are raised, which it is well known tend to interrupt the demand from abroad, and ruin manufactures. In this manner, many individuals are enabled to live for a time in splendour, while the business of the nation at large is declining. No man I presume will say that this is a desirable state of things.

This monied man, therefore, though he may maintain by his bounty or his extravagance a few men in idleness who must otherways have worked for their bread, cannot be said to have given an excitement to national industry in any way proportioned to the check it had received in consequence of the fore said emigrations. In the places at a distance from him, that malady is increased by the additional drain from thence for furnishing his numerous retainers. The domestic employment of the people in these parts, therefore, continues to become still more and more languid. In the neighbourhood of such a monied man, indeed, that domestic employment is there augmented by the numbers his riches attract from the distant poorer provinces †. In consequence of the high wages he gives, manufactures in his own neighbourhood for foreign use, or even those for domestic purposes that can be brought from a distance, receive a check that occasions an essential injury to the nation ‡.

There seems to be but one way in which national industry can ever be excited to its highest degree, that is, by inducing very great numbers of people to engage in such employments as produce necessaries that can be

* In Spain, where this mode of emigration has been experienced in a higher degree than in any other European country, these effects have also been more powerfully felt. We are thus enabled to account for some peculiarities relating to that country which are otherwise inexplicable.

† These distant provinces are drained of their best inhabitants, and an unsurmountable poverty in consequence of these discouraging drains is there established.

‡ See the foregoing note.

be transported to a foreign market. These numerous artificers thus constantly employed, must all be lodged, fed, and cloathed by the labour of others of their fellow-citizens, who in their turn require the assistance of those who minister to their domestic wants. So long, therefore, as the commodities sent to a foreign market find a brisk sale, more men will engage in that business, and by consequence the industry of all the others will be more and more excited, and their numbers will continue by natural procreation to augment. Whatever, therefore, tends to interrupt this primary business, will give a check to all other employments. But it has been seen that the sudden influx of money poured into the country by such a Nabob as has been supposed, has a natural tendency to do that in some respects, and therefore in so far it tends to weaken the pillars which support the fabric of national industry.

The demand from abroad for the articles we furnish, can only be increased in one of two ways; either by affording our goods at a low price, or by augmenting the wealth of our foreign customers. The last is not in our power to do in general, had we the will: our business therefore should be to bend all our endeavours to attain the first. This will be most effectually done by keeping the people who are employed in that useful business, as much as possible in a continued train of uninterrupted industrious exertions. The disturbance therefore occasioned by such a sudden influx of riches as that above described, must prove highly detrimental to the general undertaking.

I am far, however, from insinuating, that wealth, in whatever way it is acquired or used, will always prove prejudicial to manufactures and commerce. Riches gradually gained in the prosecution of business, and judiciously applied towards carrying that to perfection, will prove highly beneficial, and will enable a nation possessing these resources to out-rival others who want them. But immense sums of wealth, which must necessarily be squandered in dissipation and luxury, if they are beneficial in one respect, prove detrimental in others, so as to leave it but in very few cases doubtful whether they do most harm or good.

On the whole, it appears, that as the check which the industry of the nation receives by emigrations is real, and extends its influence through all classes of inhabitants; and as the acquisition of wealth in distant countries is precarious, and the advantages that result from the attainment of wealth thus suddenly acquired is more apparent than real; we must conclude, that the nation suffers upon the whole a much greater loss by numerous emigrations, than it gains by the riches brought home by the few who return in prosperous circumstances from abroad. This reasoning applies even to those cases where the money has been obtained from other nations: But when we come to consider those fortunes that

are obtained from the public by jobs, contracts, frauds, and collusions, they tend to disseminate so universally through the minds of all ranks of persons concerned, a spirit of vice, corruption and licentiousness, as well as to discourage the sober exertions of industry, that they must be accounted in the highest degree pernicious; and those political arrangements that tend to give rise to such evils, deserve to be condemned as destructive and ruinous to the State.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Circumstances which point out the present time as being singularly favourable for establishing the Undertaking proposed.

HAVING shown the practicability of the measure proposed, and the great benefits that it would bring to the nation, I have only farther to observe, that many circumstances conspire to point out the present time *, as being singularly favourable for carrying the plan into execution. Never before did so many propitious circumstances concur in forwarding of this enterprise. Let us not neglect to improve the happy moment fortune has procured for us. Opportunity once lost seldom returns.

The present war must now be near a close. In it has been employed a greater number of seamen (transports included) than ever were employed by Britain in any former war. When these are to be discharged, numbers of hardy sailors will be thrown entirely out of employment, many of whom, if left to themselves, will be driven to desperate courses thro' poverty, who will for a time disturb the tranquillity of the State, and at last be brought to expiate their crimes by an ignominious death upon a scaffold: Others, more fortunate or more wise, will go abroad and enter into the service of Foreign States, where they will be gladly received, even if some of their own subjects should be displaced to make room for them, in hopes that these men will become their instructors in navigation, so as to enable these Foreign States to out rival us in trade in times of peace, and to cope with us at war upon some future occasion. From these considerations, it behoves the ministers of Britain, not less out of humanity to those honest *tars* who have so gallantly exerted themselves in our defence, than from principles of the soundest national policy, to prevent those things from taking place, were it even at almost any expence. What device could be fallen upon more happily calculated to answer both these purposes, than the giving them an honourable settlement in the manner above proposed? In that fortunate retreat, where even the lame and the maimed might be of use, and where all could with

K 2

profit

* This was written in the year 1782. It was not thought necessary to omit this chapter, or materially to alter it; for tho' it must be allowed that the moment which was the most peculiarly favourable is past, yet many of the particulars here mentioned will continue to operate, and will do so for a considerable time to come.

profit follow their own employment, they would escape that fatal idleness which proves too sure a snare to draw them to their ruin; and by being enabled to exercise their hardy industry upon their favourite element, they would have the best opportunity of training their children, by their own example, to early habits of activity, who would thus become in time fit instruments for carrying the commerce of Great Britain to its highest perfection, and of contributing in their turn to add to the strength of the British navy, and to render it a powerful bulwark sufficient to resist the united efforts of all our enemies. It was well observed by some one, that it is not under Summer suns and Southern seas that mariners are taught to brave the dangers of the deep; it is those alone, who, by being constantly trained to meet the Winter storms in Northern seas, are taught to despise the dangers, and lightly to esteem the difficulties they meet with in any other regions. Thus those Roman legions which were long accustomed to repel the rude attacks of Britons and of Gauls, found war in other countries but a pastime; and the signal for battle on all future occasions, was but the prelude to a victory. Happy the nation that has such an asylum to offer to those hardy veterans whose efforts in war are no longer required! Thrice happy the people, who in the midst of peace have it in their power to institute a school for exercises, that insures the possession of all those hardy endowments that are required in war! Such is Britain, of all the nations which inhabit this terraqueous globe! Such Britain is, if she knows how to prize and properly to improve those singular advantages that Nature has conferred upon her.

When peace shall be restored, many ship-carpenters also will be thrown out of employment, who, if not otherwise provided for, will almost to a man be carried into foreign parts. These would be a most useful body of artificers for the settlement proposed, and could there still follow their own useful employment, to the great emolument of individuals, and not less benefit to the State*.

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* It is submitted, whether in order to insure the full benefits that might be derived from such artificers belonging to this class as should choose to go thither, it would not be advisable for Government at the beginning to lay in some store of wood fit for building boats and small vessels necessary in the fishings, and to employ those men in building them after proper models, at the beginning upon wages somewhat more moderate than in time of war. The vessels thus built to be publicly sold to the new settlers, at such a price as they would bring. Government might lose a little by this manufacture, and only a little, while the natives would be benefited thereby in a very high degree. This manufacture, after a short time, might be diminished by a small abatement of the wages, which would induce some of the best hands to set up private works on their own account. Even though none were discharged, if no new hands were received, they would soon dwindle away by deaths; so that at the worst the loss to Government could be but small, and of short duration, and the accommodation it would be of to the new settlers would be infinitely great.

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Many soldiers will then also fall to be discharged, who having no home to which they can retire, will be left to stroll about in idleness and villainy, unless some provision be likewise made for them. These, if carried to the new settlement, would furnish a valuable addition of useful inhabitants.

At the close of the war also, it will happen that many officers advanced towards the middle stage of life will be reduced to half pay, most of whom have no business they can follow, nor estate on which they can live. Were some peculiar favour, of a nature similar to that which was granted at the end of the last war to such as chose to settle in America, to be now given to such of them as chose to fix their residence in some of the new settlements, it is not to be doubted but many of them would there take up their abode. If to that were added a small gratuity, such as perhaps six months full, instead of half pay, it would help to render their situation at the beginning somewhat more desirable, and would induce more of them to settle there than would otherwise have chosen it; who by their authority and example would be a check upon the common men, and by their numbers in one place would give a beginning to a polite and agreeable society. By joining stocks too, which on certain occasions in those circumstances would naturally happen, they would be enabled to undertake many enterprises for their own emolument, which they could not otherwise have attempted. Thus would they contribute in an eminent degree in forwarding the views aimed at by this institution.

Another circumstance favourable to this undertaking at present, would be the return from America of the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, many of whom, were it in their offer, would doubtless choose to remain here rather than return to their native country. The same might be said of their officers, did they receive the same emoluments in that case as the British officers of equal rank.

The disturbances in America, however the present contest may end, must also prove exceedingly favourable to the establishment proposed. Many distressed families are already arrived from thence, who know not to which hand to turn themselves for bread. To these an opening of this kind would prove most highly acceptable: and were they to be allowed
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The advantage the settlers would derive from this institution, would be prodigiously augmented, if, instead of requiring the money to be peremptorily paid down when the vessels were bought, they should be at liberty either to pay it then, or to pay it by separate instalments at some future times. It would be easy to show in what manner Government might receive the most unexceptionable security for the punctual payment of the debts that would be thus contracted. But it is not necessary at present to dwell on that head.

* Probably the circumstance here mentioned may put some of my readers in mind of a plan which was adopted at the end of last war, for settling discharged soldiers in villages upon some of the most barren parts of the forfeited estates in Scotland, with a view to improve them. This plan was carried in part into execution at a considerable expence, but without having been attended with any beneficial effects whatever. As the undertaking here alluded to did in one respect resemble that which I now recommend, its failure may possibly be urged as an objection to that which I propose. To obviate the force of that objection, it is only necessary here to observe, that the very principle upon which those settlements were made, is directly contradictory to that which has induced me to recommend the measure in question. Their want of success, therefore, affords rather a presumption that I am right. The basis of the whole proposed undertaking hangs upon this maxim, that a few individuals in a desert country are debarred from the means of exerting their industry with profit to themselves: but the people settled in the manner alluded to at the end of the last war, were placed exactly in those circumstances; and therefore could not succeed, if my principle be just; as I have already remarked above, page 27. They did not succeed. My proposal is to draw people from the desert, instead of placing them in it. The famous Utopian settlement at in Spain, proceeding upon the same erroneous principles, must prove equally unsuccessful. Let not this, therefore, be urged as an objection to the plan proposed, as it rather tends to confirm the justness of the reasoning from which I have been obliged to conclude, that an extensive settlement could not fail to prove in the highest degree beneficial.

for life the pensions they now enjoy, in case they chose to settle there, they would be enabled to begin life upon a new plan with some reasonable prospect of success, and to lay the foundation of a more lasting prosperity to their descendents, than they could hope to enjoy were they even to be permitted to return to their native places of abode. To many of them, the hope of ever returning to their former possessions must now be at an end. If Britain therefore either *cannot* or *will not* protect them in America, she is bound by every tie of honour and of justice to put it in their power to provide a reasonable subsistence to themselves elsewhere.

An asylum would here be opened for those who have been already driven from that Continent: and a place of safety would be provided, to which those who will soon follow them might conveniently retire. Rapine and injustice have been let loose of late throughout the whole Continent of America, which has destroyed that mutual cordiality and confidence between man and man, and that respectable simplicity of manners which must ever constitute the chief bond of union in any infant society. Ambition and the love of rule must now have so fully possessed the minds of many of their leaders, as cannot fail to lay the foundation of turbulence and seditious disorders without end, in a country whose civil government is unsettled, and which owns not at present any supreme uncontrollable authority to whose decrees all are bound in duty to submit. Every man there, assuming a right of deciding ultimately for himself in all material questions, perpetual jarrings and confusion must be experienced in all departments of the State. Taxes, because of the debts contracted during the war, and the other necessary expence of civil government, must be, in proportion to what was formerly experienced, so enormously high, and in a country circumstanced as it is, so extremely oppressive *, as to produce much discontent and violent opposition from
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* See a letter to Henry Laurens, Esq; that was published in the Public Advertiser for May 3d 1782, in which this subject is more particularly considered: from which the following paragraphs are extracted, as the reader might have difficulty to meet with it.

" America, it has been perhaps with truth said, possessed at the beginning of these troubles as great a number of people as the United Provinces did when they established their present form of Government; and it enjoys besides an infinitely more extensive and a more fertile territory. You, Sir, and every intelligent man, must have clearly seen that the obvious answer to this argument was, 'the extent and fertility of the country are the very circumstances that must undo America, if independency is wanted, and therefore it ought to preclude every idea of that kind from being entertained by a wise and considerate people.' A small garrison may defend a strong fortress proportioned to their numbers, if it cannot be blocked up so as to deprive them of the benefit of supplies. But, put the same garrison into a fortress whose walls are a thousand times more extensive, and much weaker in every respect than the former, it must be carried at the first assault. Holland, intersected by canals, surrounded by shoals, and crowded with people, was at all times in a great measure invulnerable. America, every
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great numbers of the people. These discontents will be greatly augmented because of the loyalists, in regard to whom the American States must adopt one of two methods (should any of them be permitted to return) which would be almost equally pregnant with mischief. They must either declare the property of the loyalists to be forfeited on account of what they call their rebellion to the States, or they must restore it to them. If they shall adopt the first measure, these persons, when they
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where open, abounding with numberless harbours, and possessing a people infinitely dispersed, must be perpetually liable to insults from every inimical Power. The proportional supplies, therefore, for the government and protection of America, must exceed those that are necessary for Holland beyond almost any assignable ratio. But when we come to enquire how the supplies are to be raised upon the subjects of these two different States, we shall find that America had difficulties to encounter, which would debar the most distant idea of independency from the mind of the most daring political speculator whatever, if they had been duly examined.

"In Holland, where the people depend upon foreign nations for the greatest part of their very sustenance itself, which must be purchased by manufactures the produce of their industry, commerce of all kinds both internal and external must be great; which circumstance, at the same time that it introduces an universal habit of painful industry among all ranks of people, favours in the highest degree that kind of imperceptible taxation which arises from the sale of commodities. Much money is thus obtained for the State, without the knowledge of those who pay it; and it is chiefly from this circumstance, and the ease with which it is collected, the advantages they derive from a concentrated population, and conveniency for trade, that the people in Holland pay, without murmuring or oppression, much higher taxes than the subjects of any other kingdom in Europe.

"America, on the other hand, is a nation chiefly inhabited by husbandmen. There, most of the necessities of life are obtained at home, without the necessity of going to market almost for any thing. In these circumstances, all the necessities of life may abound to profusion, though money be scarce known among the inhabitants. How shall large supplies be raised from such a people? Every tax must there be open to the view of the meanest individual, and every demand to answer the exigencies of the State must appear exorbitant, however moderate it may in effect be, and will be paid with the most inveterate reluctance, which will occasion perpetual discontents among all ranks of people. Well founded therefore were the arguments of America in regard to her inability to pay considerable taxes to Britain; but still better is the argument arising from these considerations, of the chimerical nature of that claim to independency she has so long cherished, and so lately openly avowed. In a country so situated, the national taxes must always be extremely inconsiderable; nor will it be possible, by any exertions short of downright tyranny, ever to draw from thence a revenue nearly sufficient to answer the exigencies of the State, whoever shall be the ruling Powers of that country."

To the above allow me to add, That our forefathers, while the different countries in Europe were in some respect similar to that of America at present, adopted a mode of government much better adapted to the circumstances of the country than any which could be put in practice in modern times. Instead of taxes, which a change of circumstances has necessarily introduced, the expence of government was born by the revenue arising from the extensive domains of the Prince, by the perquisites obtained in the administration of justice, the fees that naturally arose from the transmission and securing of property, and by the personal services of the people. To attempt such a system of government in America now, were absurd; to attempt a government that must be supported by taxes, seems equally impracticable.

see themselves unjustly stript of their property, and others put in possession of their fortunes and estates, must forever bear against such unjust intruders the most rooted aversion, and therefore will secretly foment every discontent that has a chance of bringing about a revolution which may put them again in possession of their own. If, on the other hand, the persons who shall have obtained possession of their estates* shall be turned out, or be made, by an award of justice, to refund their ill-got gains, a yet more violent and more dangerous set of enemies to the public will be let loose in the midst of the community. Among a people of whom almost every individual apprehends himself aggrieved, the violence of those who are so highly irritated must have the most powerful effects. Tumults and internal disorders must abound; the persons and property of individuals will be insecure, and universal anarchy cannot but prevail, till some man of superior talents shall appear, who by the arm of power repressing these disorders, shall become master of the lives and fortunes of his fellow-citizens.

These events, or others of a similar nature, must be expected to take place, if European powers shall leave that country to itself; and if they do not, other evils equally obvious must prevail. In the mean time, men of sober dispositions, who wish to live in peace and tranquillity without scrambling for power, will be glad to retire to some peaceful region, where they will be allowed to spend their lives in sober industry and quiet. To these the establishment proposed will afford a place of refuge. Others, driven to desperation, and stript of their all, will retire towards the back settlements among the native Indians, whose manners and way of life they will adopt. In *their* minds a desire of revenge will still be the most predominant passion; a passion which no length of time will ever be sufficient to eradicate. And it is not to be doubted but such tools, under the secret influence of European powers, upon every cause of disgust with the American States, would become a dreadful and oppressive scourge upon those inhabitants who were near the deserts, so as to drive them from their home, and force them also to seek refuge in some foreign land.

This evil is already in some measure experienced, and will be among the first that will call aloud for redress. Should the urgency of the case be so great as to induce the American States to recall them all, by granting a pardon, and restitution of property in the fullest sense, that would, if quickly done, procure a present redress of this grievance; but besides the inconvenience just now taken notice of that this restoration of property would occasion, it would at the same time give rise to another little less to be dreaded in its consequences. The inhabitants of those districts would thus be taught in what manner to make themselves

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* I know it is only in some provinces that the estates of the loyalists have been sold. But every-where they have been plundered of their effects.

of consequence to Government. Whenever, therefore, taxes became oppressive upon the back-settlers (and every tax upon persons in their circumstances must be oppressive) they would become mutinous and unruly. If any compulsive measures were attempted against them, they would immediately leave their habitations and retire among the Indians for protection; with whom they would not fail to cultivate the strictest friendship, having this object in view. For fear of the consequences the enterprise must be abandoned, and their taxes be remitted. Those who were next to these settlers would expect the same indulgence. No line of partition can be drawn between them. All must of course be thrown into disorder.

The humane mind sickens at the prospect of such calamities; but he who cannot prevent them ought as much as in him lies to alleviate these misfortunes. It is written, that 'it is impossible but that offences will come; but wo to that man by whom the offence cometh: it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea, than that he should offend,' *even one of the least among mankind*. But ambition regards not the voice of religion; nor are the calls of humanity sufficient to relax the iron gripe of avarice!

Another circumstance that will operate at present in favour of the proposed establishment is the war with Holland: a discontent very generally prevails there just now among all ranks of people on account of the French party which has for some time past predominated in the cabinet; which discontent has been much heightened by the great stagnation of trade that has been experienced since the commencement of the war. During the continuance of this war, the Swedes and Danes and other members of the armed neutrality have been taught to engage in some branches of trade that used to be entirely carried on by the subjects of that republic: Hamburg and Ostend have obtained still a greater share of it. Part of this trade they will retain after the war shall be ended, so that the stagnation will in some measure continue. Many persons in Holland, whose sole dependence is upon trade, will thus find their business diminished and themselves reduced to a situation more incumbered than formerly; they will therefore be the more readily disposed to accept the offer held out to them by Britain. Some sailors, and artificers also, who will be thrown out of employment at the peace, may be induced to go thither. In these we would obtain the best instructors for the herring-fishery, though our mode of fishing and theirs must be somewhat different. And should our fisheries be carried on with effect, it would occasion a much greater stagnation of business there, and consequently an increased emigration from thence of their most industrious people.

The late transactions in Ireland I also consider as a circumstance that will in time operate much in favour of the proposed establishment. Liberty when rightly understood is the most valuable blessing that mankind can enjoy; but licentiousness so often assumes its appearance as to be frequently at first mistaken for it. Whether the armed associations entered into without the authority of law indicates that the Irish are under the influence of the one or other of these, every man is left to decide as his own judgment directs. Should, however, it chance, as has often happened before, that this armed force, which was raised up for a particular purpose, feeling its own strength, should wish to try it in some other enterprises, it is not quite clear that those who raised it by the word of their power would find other words powerful enough to disperse it. In that case disorder and anarchy might ensue, which would tend to discourage agriculture and arts, and compel the most useful part of the inhabitants to seek elsewhere that tranquil security they could not enjoy at home. A wise minister, who foresees consequences, would naturally wish to avail himself of every incident as it occurred to augment the national prosperity; the opening here suggested affords room, without compulsion or violent struggle of any kind, for making the wayward passions of those who either foresee not consequences themselves, or disregard them, become subservient to the welfare and general prosperity of the State.

The present scarcity of grain in Scotland is another circumstance that would tend greatly to facilitate the undertaking should the execution of it not be too long delayed. Many persons *there* will be reduced to such distress for want of food as will make them be glad to fly to any place where that *can* be obtained: and after the present scarcity is over, many persons who have been reduced to abject circumstances by the consequences that will result from the present scarcity, will be glad to fly to that asylum which would be offered to them in these new settlements, and will thus be prevented from searching for it elsewhere. If it were a condition in the plan that oatmeal should be furnished to the new settlers at a moderate price (suppose sixpence or eightpence *per* peck) for the first year, many families from the Highlands and other parts of Scotland would gladly embrace the offer and settle themselves there for ever.

In regard to this particular it deserves to be remarked, that independent of the advantages that would thus result to the community by merely drawing the inhabitants together, as has been explained in the 2d chapter of this Essay, there are other reasons which at present point out the measure as of the most urgent expediency. If no effectual plan shall immediately be adopted for finding food and employment for the poor inhabitants of these regions, who will be reduced to indigence by the consequences of the universal failure of the present crop, many of them will

will be compelled to suffer such sore distress as to be obliged to migrate in great numbers to some other part of the world, in hopes of finding there a comfortable subsistence. The mischiefs that would accrue to the nation from such an extensive depopulation as this would occasion have been fully explained in the preceding part of this Essay. To prevent this great evil from being experienced, no care nor pains nor expence can be reckoned too great by a wise minister. The plan that is proposed, at the same time that it will with the greatest certainty effect this salutary purpose, will powerfully co-operate towards the attainment of another end that would be of the greatest national utility. On a double account, therefore, it ought to be most carefully attended to.

Such a happy concurrence of circumstances can scarce ever be expected to meet together at any future period. To all this we may add, that as America and its trade is now become less the object of attention in England than formerly, monied men who want to launch out into new branches of business will be more disposed to turn their attention to this quarter than if the old established course of trade had been suffered to proceed in its usual channel without interruption. On the whole, the present time seems to be more happily calculated for establishing this great national undertaking than any other period in former times; and if it shall be suffered to pass unimproved, we shall probably in vain expect another like it in all succeeding ages.

RECAPITULATION.

IN the foregoing Essay I have been obliged to enter into several minute investigations which to some readers will appear tiresome and unimportant, and to engage in disquisitions which have no very obvious connection with the subject proposed in this Essay; but if upon a careful revival it shall be found that they all have a necessary tendency to establish the truth of one or other of the following propositions, I hope they will be deemed neither uninteresting nor superfluous. The propositions which I flatter myself are proved in the foregoing Essay, are as follow:

That Britain possesses within herself the means of supporting and of giving full employment to a much greater number of inhabitants than it now contains, and that by consequence there is no necessity of seeking for distant possessions with a view to find bread for her people.

That the fisheries which might be carried on upon the Northern coasts and among the British isles, would alone furnish full employment for many millions of industrious people, by whose exertions the strength and revenues of the State might be augmented to an astonishing degree.

That were these fisheries fully established, they would not only furnish employment to an unassignable number of fishermen themselves, but would give ample encouragement to agriculture, and give rise to arts, to industry and commerce, and thus promote in the highest degree the improvement of the country in every respect.

That the attempts which have hitherto been made to establish these fisheries and to excite the industry of the people have failed because they were conducted upon erroneous principles, which necessarily frustrated the end proposed.

That the failure of this undertaking, and the general poverty of the people in the Northern parts of Britain, are neither owing to the indolence nor other bad qualities of the people themselves, but are occasioned merely by the political situation in which they are placed, of which these evils are natural and necessary consequences.

That the frugality, oeconomy and industry, for which the Dutch have been so often praised, and by means of which they have hitherto been
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able to outtrival us in the fishery and many other branches of business, are in like manner natural and necessary consequences of the political situation in which the people of the United Provinces find themselves placed, and are by no means consequences of any peculiarity in the inherent disposition of the people themselves.

That the efficient causes of the habits of industry which prevail among the people in Holland, are, the compactness of their country in proportion to the number of people it contains, the largeness of their towns, and the easy communication between different places; and that the indolence and poverty of the people in the Northern parts of Britain are solely occasioned by their wide dispersion in an uncultivated country, the want of large towns among them, and the difficulty of communication between different places.

That, by consequence, the first step necessary to be taken to promote the fisheries and other improvements is to imitate the policy pursued by Theseus in Attica, *viz.* to draw the people together into towns, and to encourage others to come from less happy countries to settle there in great numbers, thus to give scope for industry, opportunity for arts to spring up, and encouragement to commerce.

That it is not true as has been asserted of late by some eminent philosophers, that emigrations from a place tend to excite the industry of those who remain behind, to augment their wealth, and to make their population increase more rapidly than it would have done had no such emigrations taken place.

That, on the contrary, by encouraging people to settle in great numbers in any country from other places, the industry of the original inhabitants in consequence of that addition of people is greatly excited, the means of finding subsistence is facilitated, the quantity of the produce of the country augmented, the expence of Government proportionally diminished, the revenue improved, the pressure of taxes abated, the price of manufactures greatly lowered, the strength of the kingdom increased, and national wealth accumulated to an astonishing degree.

That extensive distant territories which must be governed by delegated authority prove in the highest degree inimical to the interests of a manufacturing and commercial State, by greatly increasing the expence of Government in proportion to the number of the people governed, by multiplying taxes to an extraordinary degree upon the inhabitants of the Parent State, by lessening the security of the subject and giving rise to wars almost without ceasing, by exciting a spirit of luxury and dissipation in consequence of the facility with which wealth may be amassed,

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by means of jobbs, contracts, and collusive dealings at the expence of the industrious subject; and by creating a general spirit of dependence on people in power, which is the bane of public virtue, makes vice throw off the mask, and puts honesty and patriotism out of countenance.

The necessary inference from all these premises is, that if we ever hope to enable the inhabitants of Britain to out rival the Dutch in the herring-fishery and other branches of oeconomical manufactures, we must first begin by not only encouraging our own people to stay at home, but also by alluring many people from other quarters to come and settle among us, so as quickly to establish among us many not small and insignificant villages, which would rather increase than diminish the evils now experienced, but large and populous marts which will in time give rise to numerous villages and hamlets; as it is only when people are placed in these circumstances that a general spirit of oeconomical industry can prevail, that manufactures can be afforded at the lowest possible price, and that trade can be carried on with profit and to great extent.

Disquisitions which tend to establish the truth of these propositions, tho' illustrated by circumstances seemingly trivial, can never be deemed unimportant; nor investigations however excentric their range may at first glance appear be deemed digressions in an Essay of this kind, if they necessarily lead to these conclusions.

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CONCLUSION.

WERE I as firmly convinced that the undertaking proposed in the foregoing pages would be carried into execution, as I am entirely satisfied that it would prove in the highest degree beneficial to the nation, I should here end my labours with singular pleasure: but my hopes in that respect are far from being sanguine. The proposal is calculated to aggrandise no political party in the State: Its highest aim is to promote the general welfare of the people, without affording a prospect of extraordinary gain to any one individual. This being the case, even I, tho' little acquainted with the secret springs that set the political machine agoing can easily perceive that this circumstance is by no means in its favour. Other favourable circumstances, however, may perhaps overcome this and other obstacles that have hitherto stood in the way, and it is our duty to hope the best.

If we take a retrospective view of the enterprises of this country for some time past, and examine its present state, Britain might justly methinks be compared to an Asiatic Prince of great power, who, by the blessing of Heaven had obtained a legitimate spouse whose fond attachment virtue and fidelity were naturally calculated to lessen his domestic cares, to smooth every difficulty that occurred from without, and to render his passage through life as easy as the lot of humanity could well permit, and who had the prospect of becoming in time the mother of a hopeful progeny whose virtues would exalt his name, and whose power would transmit his dominions unimpaired to the latest posterity. But, regardless of all these blessings, and spurred on by bad advice fomenting in him a vicious taste for false enjoyment, he roamed abroad perpetually in search of new delight, coveting with the most inordinate desire every retainable object that came within his view; all which objects when obtained were consigned to his seraglio, there to add to his parade of state while they tended to disturb his tranquillity and for ever to deprive him of domestic peace and comfort. To add brilliancy to the parade, numerous attendants on those expensive gusts were constantly required; and to preserve them faithful, guards were wanted. Those attendants, an idle and rapacious band, became but panders in iniquity; and the only object in which they all united was to impose upon their Lord, and unperceived, to rob him of his wealth by every means they could possibly devise. In consequence of these secret drains, his treasures he observes are daily decreasing, tho' he cannot trace the means by which they are exhausted. Fresh candidates for favour point out to him new objects of desire, in hopes that they themselves

selves may come to be employed to win or keep them. The charms of such meretricious beauties are described in all the exaggerated colouring of falsehood; and though it be well known that they are in want and misery, and can only add to the burthen of their Lord's expence, they are affirmed to be possessed of nameless treasures that will soon replenish his exhausted stores. The whole band of expectants thus concurring in their praises, the numerous class of fools are quickly brought to join the general cry; and the old gentleman, in spite of himself, is compelled to procure these new objects, though his decaying frame too surely gives him warning of his folly. His fortune thus squandered away in successive attempts to support the idle pageantry of state, and his constitution impaired by continual exertions far beyond his strength, he has become at last the scorn of his neighbours, while his own servants rob and insult him with impunity. He sees in his sober moments his approaching ruin; and his faithful counsellors, with hearts full of duty and respect, warn him of the danger; but the gaping multitude who view with stupid admiration the splendour of his seraglio, infligated by its numerous keepers and their still more numerous dependents, form an impenetrable barrier to every project of reform: and a reform which would in one moment destroy their blooming hopes and blast their future prospects, could not fail to make them unite as one man to oppose it. Such a reform precisely his faithful counsellors advise as the only one that in his circumstances can prove of the smallest utility; for trifling palliatives can only disturb his repose, and produce no lasting benefit. "Set open, say they, the doors of your seraglio. Restore to freedom those objects which have been there so long uselessly confined. Let those who have been so long unprofitably employed in tending them, and who by their extravagance have squandered away your wealth, and by their private frauds and collusions have so effectually drained your treasury as to reduce you to those shameful straits you now experience, be put to some more useful employment; and do you at last betake yourself to your own legitimate and long-neglected spouse, by whose tender care your shattered frame may yet be mended, and by whose oeconomy and well-directed industry your fortune will be soon repaired, and you shall be once more enabled to live in your original splendour, and with that native hospitality which formerly so well became thee. Then shall you regain the cordial esteem of all your neighbours, and that unfeigned respect from all surrounding nations to which thou art by right so well entitled."

Whether, in such a case, this salutary counsel would prevail; whether those faithless servants like the Praetorian bands at Rome, the Janissaries of the Porte, and the Spahis of Persia, should still continue to compel their Master to do whatever they think right; or whether by vigorous exertions they may be made to yield to his power, like the Strelitzes of Russia, depends entirely upon circumstances that time only can discover.

It is not impossible, but that to some the resemblance between the picture given above, and that of the state with which it is compared, may not appear so striking as it does to me. I leave it to time and future observers to determine whether the parallel has any claim to exactness or the reverse.

At present I may be allowed to remark, that the revolution in Britain, which appeared to all those who had occasion to observe it at the time an event of great importance to this nation, and is already viewed as forming a memorable æra in our history, will, when its effects come to be fully developed by future historians, be exalted into one of the most remarkable epochas in the history of civil society. At that time, among many alterations the most favourable to the liberties and civil rights of mankind, was laid the foundation of some innovations whose distant effects were not fully foreseen, that deserve not to be ranked with the former. It was at that æra that was laid the foundation of that conquering warlike system which hath so much pervaded every department of Government in this *commercial* State ever since, the consequences of which will afford ample materials for the historic page in future ages. I do not say that at that time was laid the foundation of a desire for conquests *among the people*; for unfortunately that has been an epidemic disease among that class of men in all ages: but it was then that the Court, eagerly bent upon the accomplishment of one darling object, highly favoured by a recent train of events that tended to awaken the fears and inflame the passions of mankind, found itself enabled, in concurrence with popular prejudices, to engage in a system of expensive operations which gave rise to a political device of the most important nature in regard to its consequences that can be conceived. This was the system of borrowing money upon the credit of the nation, and of mortgaging the revenues of the State for the repayment thereof; in consequence of which arrangement, the Minister for the time feels himself enabled to engage in great and expensive undertakings, the glory of which belongs exclusively to himself, while the weight of the burthen is thrown upon his successor. A temptation so alluring as this is, when thrown in the way of one who only holds a temporary office, is too powerful to be resisted with that fortitude that the welfare of the nation requires. By this means wars have been undertaken with a destructive facility: and as the profits to individuals during the confusion and extensive operations of war are great, however pernicious to the community at large, this consideration at all times creates in the Senate and among the monied part of the nation *, a powerful party who are ever ready to join the *people* in exciting the

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* To these may be added the numerous class of news-writers, whose emoluments in time of war are greatly augmented, and who of course are studious to adopt every device that may tend to inflame the minds of the people.

Minister to adopt such measures as have a natural tendency to lead to the favourable object of their wishes. Hence *the glory of the nation, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of manufactures, the honour of the British flag*, and similar phrases are ever sounding in his ears; and if he does not resent in a public manner every chastisement that the influence of a British subject shall have drawn upon himself, for insulting the subjects or disregarding the laws of Foreign States, he is hooted at and despised, and obliged to resign his employment.

To avoid these dreaded ills, a Minister who finds himself at last obliged to listen to terms of accommodation, is at the same time under the necessity of looking abroad for some foreign possession, not only with a view to please the mob by gratifying their insatiable desire of conquest, but more especially with a view to provide for those who must be thrown out of employment at the end of the war, and to gain the means of gratifying the avarice of his wealthy supporters, and of supplying the wants of their needy dependents. By these means expences are incurred in time of peace, not inferior to what would have supported a war establishment had the protection of this island alone been aimed at. The national debt is thus allowed to remain without a sensible diminution, and at each successive war it is augmented with a most alarming rapidity. The whole people perceive and are astonished at these effects, and fail not loudly to complain: but as if the understanding of the nation were infatuated, this growing malady is successively attributed to every cause but the right one; and our State Physicians are continually busied in prescribing remedies that tend only to augment instead of diminishing the disease.

To give a cover to these extravagant enterprises, those numerous classes of men who find it for their interest to deceive the nation, taking advantage of the popular prejudice in favour of trade, cry out with one accord that all these acquisitions are made with a view merely to favour the interests of commerce. Their word is taken as a clear proof of the fact, though it is sufficiently obvious that they might with equal justice pretend that it was meant to promote the cause of *science*, or any other cause whatever. Does not every man know that nothing throws such obstructions in the way of commerce as war? and does not common sense teach every one, that a nation which hath many distant possessions is much more liable to be attacked, is much more easily annoyed, and can with greater difficulty be defended, than if all its dominions were united into one compacted whole*? Does not reason as well as experience show that

* A worthy friend of mine, well known in the literary world for his poetical exercises, but much more respected by his friends for his political knowledge, the Reverend Mr Wilkie author of the *Epigoniad*, *Fables*, &c. used to say that Britain naturally resembled a man surrounded by a strong wall, which was sufficient with little trouble or expence

that rulers of provinces and others, who are far from home, at a distance from the arm of law, and eager in pursuit of riches, are in greater danger than other men of despising the feeble restraints of justice, and are thus more liable than others to commit enormities that give rise to national quarrels which can only be determined by the sword. If these things are so, and must continue to be so as long as mankind shall be actuated by the same passions that have been known to influence them for all ages, we shall be obliged to conclude, that numerous and distant settlements must as necessarily give rise to frequent wars, as that a substance must produce a shadow when the sun illuminates it. And if frequent wars occur, our commerce must of course be often interrupted. To hear a nation, therefore, complaining of the expence and other bad effects of war, while it is at the same time making every exertion to obtain a territory still more extended than before, is exactly similar to the case of a man who having already been incommoded by the shade of a wall that had been raised between him and the sun, was nevertheless incessantly employed in adding to the height of that wall, and daily complaining that the annoyance he received from that shade was not diminished by his labour.

This to be sure denotes a sufficient degree of absurdity; but it does not exceed the absurdity of the conduct of men in Britain in many other respects relating to commerce; for on this subject the generally received doctrines and our constant practice are in direct opposition to each other. Every enlightened writer who talks of commerce, says its very essence consists in freedom: that it is vain to think of confining it: that it will find out a channel for itself, in which it will flow in spite of all external efforts to oppose it. Such are the speculative tenets universally adopted on this head. But our practice is one continued series of efforts to restrain, oppose and model according to our pleasure this acknowledged *irresistible* torrent.

Among other particulars, never surely did a more preposterous idea enter into the mind of man, than to think that the possession of foreign territory is necessary for the extension of trade: Yet, to hear the general tenor of what is urged on this subject in Britain, a stranger would be ready to believe that no trade could be carried on but with the people subjected to the dominion of the trading State. One would imagine, that were argument to be disregarded on this head, our own *experience* should alone

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expence to protect him from every annoyance from without. But, not contented with this situation, he industriously broke out a hole in that wall sufficient to allow him to thrust one of his arms out at it, which by being thus continually exposed to danger, was liable to be perpetually annoyed, and gave him ten times more trouble to protect it, and to repair the damages it was so frequently subjected to, than would have been sufficient to defend the whole, had he remained contented with his native possession.

be sufficient to show the vanity of such a notion. We have not the sovereignty of Holland ; yet our trade to Holland is more extensive than to any other country on the globe. We have not the dominion of Spain ; we have not even a favoured commerce thither ; yet the value of our trade to that country is very great. We are at war with the Provinces of North America, the rulers of which provinces proscribe our goods under the severest penalties ; yet these goods find their way thither in such abundance, that public complaints have often been made of the ruin that must ensue to the provinces because of the vast sums of money now paid for British goods, tho' it is well known that while we arrogated to ourselves an exclusive right to the trade of those provinces, money could with great difficulty be obtained from thence. In this respect, possession seems only to cloy, and the appetite to be whetted because of the difficulties that stand in the way. The conduct of America with regard to Britain, might in this respect be compared with that of a licentious husband. Those favours which in a wedded state were refused, or reluctantly yielded to his lawful spouse, were lavished upon his *private mistress* (France, &c.) ; and now that the tables are turned, she (Britain) who as a wife could obtain nothing, now that she assumes the rank of mistress, has the whole wealth of her gallant poured by stealth into her lap. Is it for us to complain that others deprive us of the drudgery and care of providing for the family, so long as we shall thus be enabled to reap the profit ? These and a thousand other examples that might be produced, should serve to convince us of the absurdity of thinking that foreign conquests are in the least necessary for the extension of trade*.

It should make us go farther : it should make us examine the facts afforded to us by the history of former ages ; from a careful examination of which we shall be forced to conclude, that extensive empire is not only *not necessary* for the extension of commerce, but that it has proved at all times *destructive* to it wherever it has been known to take place. Tyre was the first place we know of that carried on a very extensive trade ; but Tyre had no territories beyond the narrow bounds of that small State itself. Carthage next arose, a daughter of Tyre ; and so long as she pursued the same wise plan of policy, her commerce flourished, and her merchants traded throughout the greatest part of the known world at that time : but not contented with this beneficial commerce, she grasped at distant conquests, and aiming at military fame she embroiled herself with Rome, and sunk at last to rise no more. Venice, in after times, enjoyed a most extensive trade, while she possessed scarce any territories save her impenetrable marshes : but she too must have dependent dominions, which involved her in war and desolation. Commerce, deserting these

* See, on this subject, The Interest of Great Britain with regard to her American Colonies considered, chap. VII.

these tumultuous scenes, took refuge in the Netherlands. Antwerp arose, a city that claimed no territorial jurisdiction but for a few miles around its walls; yet from that city ships were sent through every part of Europe: and there, at that time, centred the commerce of the globe. Next Spain* appeared; and not contented with those flourishing manufactures, and that extensive trade she then enjoyed ¶, she grasped at dominion, and vainly thought by force of arms to gain the commerce of the world. She towered aloft for a time in most gigantic greatness, like those mighty phantoms that were raised by the necromancers spell. The astonished world beheld her with a reverential awe. Her heart swelled with pride, and she said, in the height of her exaltation, 'Is not this great Babylon that I have built, for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty!' But while she yet spoke, the charm was dissolved: the kingdom was rent in pieces, and she sunk to her present state of humiliating debasement.

Britain at last appeared: her ships pervaded every sea, her commerce reached to every region of the globe; but her trade, like that of Spain, was forced on the people by the power of the sword. Like that haughty nation whose paths she emulously trod, her power among distant nations excited terror §, her cruelty begat horror, and her avarice the most rooted aversion. The acquisition of wealth seemed to be the only object that engrossed the minds of those of her people who were seen abroad. With this view treaties were formed, perfidy encouraged, and treason rewarded. With this view treaties were broken, Princes dethroned, and the rights of humanity trampled under foot ||. The army, the navy, were infected with the same contagious malady. Troops eager for action and emulous of glory have been kept loitering in indolence, that the pockets of individuals might be filled with the spoils of their employers §; and our navies detained inactive, that the emoluments of a few might be augmented ¶. Nor should we be surprised at these occurrences. They are the necessary consequences of those arrangements we have chosen to adopt. Such things have happened to all nations in similar circumstances,

* From the similarity of circumstances, I include Portugal under the same general title. Their views and fate were entirely alike.

¶ It is well known that the Biscayeners were once the most adventurous navigators in Europe, and the manufactures of Spain were extensive and greatly prized.

§ It was this circumstance alone that raised up against her the powerful confederacy which distresses her at present.

|| This alludes to the affairs of India, of which it would be easy to give such a detail as would but too well confirm what is said in the text; but I rather wish to draw a veil over these transactions.

§ See the seventh and following Reports of the Commissioners of Accounts.

¶ The reader knows that this censure, though it does apply too generally, is not universal. There are exceptions, and great exceptions which need not here be specified, as every reader's own recollection can supply the want.

stances, and were to be expected. *A facility in the acquisition of wealth will ever beget a desire to obtain it ; and this desire becoming general, will occasion a prevailing laxity of principle, which naturally leads to all those enormities of which we have so much reason to complain* *. Too many among us have been already drawn into that vortex of corruption from whence it is impossible to retreat. Others stand upon the brink, just ready to be drawn into the snare that is prepared for them ; while many remain behind, whose efforts, were they properly directed, might be sufficient to save the wavering from destruction ; and by withdrawing the temptation, they could ward off the approaching danger, and remove all future fears. In such circumstances, it behoveth every individual to exert his best endeavours to correct that contagious phrenzy of mind which hath laid the foundation of such disorders : disorders that must necessarily increase so long as the cause exists from which they originally sprang. Let this be my apology for endeavouring with candour, though with that freedom which springs from conscious rectitude, to investigate matters of such high concernment. Feeble indeed is the arm which attempts such an arduous task ; but should this excuse be admitted, it would in some cases bar the attempts even of the most powerful : nor should it ever be forgot that the public consists of individuals, and that if every individual exerted his own best endeavours, their united efforts would prove irresistible, if moderated by reason, and guided by experience.

* The following anecdote is told of a Grandee of Spain. On his return from a viceroyship in America, complaints were loud against him, and he was publicly accused of speculation in office, extortion, and all kinds of enormities : having stuck at nothing that promised suddenly to increase his wealth. Of this general clamour he complained to a friend, whose advice he begged in what manner he should conduct himself on that occasion ; who gave this memorable reply — “ If, says he, the complaints against you are well founded, the difficulty can be easily removed. You have only to make a proper application of a part of the treasures thus obtained, and all will go well. But if you be really calumniated, you are certainly undone.” How deplorable is the state of a country when it is reduced to such a pass, where villainy becomes a trade, and innocence is reprobated as folly, or shunned as dangerous ! Yet to such a pass must every nation come at last, where war is a trade, and where distant provinces are governed by a delegated authority.

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